

ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
RELATING TO
ANTIQUITY.
PUBLISHED BY
THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.
VOLUME V.



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ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR,
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS, &c.

- I. *Observations on the History of ST. GEORGE, the Patron Saint of England; wherein Dr. Pettingal's allegorical Interpretation of the Equestrian Figure on the George; and the late Mr. Byrom's Conjecture, that St. George is mistaken for Pope Gregory, are briefly confuted. And the Martyr of Cappadocia, as Patron of England, and of the Order of the Garter, is defended against both.*

Read April 10, 1777.

THE connection of the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES with the Patron of the *English* Nation ST. GEORGE, whose Anniversary is the day appointed by statute for the Election of their Officers, and whereof the King's most excellent Majesty

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is the *Founder and Patron* [a], as well as Sovereign of the *Order of St. George*, seems to make it necessary that some proper notice should be taken, by some of its members, of two late publications tending to the Annihilation of this Saint. There can be no reason, at this day, against an Enquiry into the truth of the Admission and Acceptance of *St. George*, the Martyr, by our Ancestors as the Patron and Protector of this kingdom; especially since Dr. *Pettingal*, Author of one of the Pieces alluded to, supposes the *GEORGE* and *GARTER* to be entirely of an emblematical or allegorical Nature; and Mr. *Byrom*, Author of the other Piece, has declared, that *St. Gregory the Great*, Bishop of *Rome*, and not *St. George*, was the real Patron-Saint of the *English*. Both these notions, which I conceive to be erroneous, I have endeavoured to combat, in the following Essay; wherein, though the matter be treated with all possible brevity, yet sufficient, I trust, will be said, to convince all impartial and competent judges, on which side of the Question the truth lies.

If it be asked, on what footing the Institution of the *Garter* stands at this day? on what principle, now we have done with the superstitious part of it, does the Order continue? I answer clearly, that, as for the encouragement of all virtuous and noble actions in the worthies of his court, the Order was first erected by that magnanimous Prince, King *Edward III.* so it subsists at this time, with the same laudable intention, under the Auspices of a GREAT, a POWERFUL, and a MUNIFICENT King. And this, all must allow to be one of the best political motives that can possibly enter into the heart of a Sovereign, a virtuous, and religious Prince.

[a] See the copy of the Charter, p. 4.

THE learned member of the Society of Antiquaries before quoted, following the example of John Calvin, Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Bois[b], and others, has lately called in question the very Existence of St. George. "There does not, says he, appear any sufficient grounds to believe that there ever *was* such a Person, except it be supposed to relate to the *Arian* of that name; and then there is no reason to be given, why the orthodox Western church should be so inconsistent with itself, as to shew such distinguished Honours to the memory of a person whom they reckoned amongst the most pestilent Heretics. The Reality of his Existence therefore being *more than problematic*, we may be justified in casting about for another signification of the Equestrian Figure on the George, more agreeable to Truth, and more consistent in all its parts[c]." He then endeavours to evince, with much Ingenuity and Erudition, it must be confessed, that the Insignia of our most noble English Order, the *George* and the *Garter*, are to be resolved into an emblematical, or rather a talismatical *Apparatus*[d].

Dr. Pettingal's Notion tends evidently to the Annihilation of our Patron, and at first sight seems to reflect much Dishonour upon the most noble Order; yet, when properly considered, it does not materially affect the Dignity of that Institution, not

[b] Selden, *Titles of Honour*, Pt. II. c. 5. § 43. Dr. Pet. Heylin's *Hist. of St. George* asserted, p. 4. 36. seq. 333. 411. Mr. Thomas Salmon, *Historic Account of St. George*, 1704, who contends that George, bishop of Ostia, Legate here, A. D. 787, is the person meant by St. George; the Story of George, the Saint and Martyr of Cappadocia, being, in his opinion, all a Fiction. See him, p. 104. Pt. II. p. 85.

[c] Dr. Pettingal, p. ix. 34. of his *Dissertation on the Original of the Equestrian Figure on the George, &c.* written about A. D. 1760.

[d] *Idem*, p. x. 50. And this indeed is the Tenor of his whole *Dissertation*.

even supposing the Truth, or the Merits of the Cause, to be with the Doctor, since a plausible Symbol implies an effort of Genius, and in the main it would not be at all disgraceful either to the Sovereign, or the Knights Companions, to have their Order derived from an Emblem, or a figurative Device[*e*]. This acknowledgement is no more than an act of justice towards this able Antiquary, and his ingenious Interpretation of the Equestrian Figure on the *George*; since this is at least as honourable, in respect of the most noble Order, as the common derivation of it from the legendary story of St. George's killing a Dragon, related by Jacobus de Voragine; and much more honourable than deducing the Original and the Name of the Saint, as some of the Learned do, from George, the Heretical Arian Bishop of Alexandria, an infamous Profligate, torn in pieces by the Heathen, on account of his scandalous and intolerable Oppressions of the People.

BUT then, as to the Merits of the Doctor's Hypothesis, and his mode of supporting it; which last is, indeed, entirely new, though one should admit, that many of the Popish Saints are meer Non-entities; and that many improbable, false, and fabulous Stories, like that of St. George and the Dragon, have been told concerning those Phantasms; yet few, I believe, will concur with Dr. Pettingal in his opinion, that St. George was no more than an allegorical Saint; because it is so extremely difficult, and even impossible, to suppose, that the *Franks*, or the Western Christians, who, for the most part, were very igno-

[*e*] See Heylin, p. 72. seq. where he observes, that Sigismund, the Emperour, and King of Hungary, erected an Order of Knighthood, which he entituled, of the *Dragon*, with a symbolical Interpretation. The Order of the *Golden Fleece* has its Foundation also in Fancy alone. Heylin, Cosmogr. Lib. II. p. 28.

rant and illiterate men, when they were in the East, where they heard so much of this Cappadocian Saint and Soldier, and of his Martyrdom; should ever think of viewing him, his Miracles, and Exploits, in a figurative and emblematical light. We may depend upon it, that though at this distance of time we can recover so few particulars of St. George's story, and can arrive at so little certainty about the circumstances of it; yet, the Adventurers in the Crusades undoubtedly regarded him as a real Person, a most glorious and illustrious Martyr. They found his name in the Calendars [f]; they met with various places denominated from him [g]; they frequented his tomb [h]; they heard him invoked [i], and heard much of his apparitions [k]; they saw churches and monasteries dedicated to him [l], and even received, as they thought, seasonable and special assistance from Heaven, through his mediation [m]; and lastly, not to mention his reliques [n], they could not but observe proper services appointed for him in the Greek and Roman Liturgies [o]. After all which, it is not possible that

[f] Selden, § 41. where some particulars of his Martyrdom are mentioned; and see hereafter.

[g] Heylin, p. 133. 146. 284. 294. The Bosphorus was called the Arm of St. George. Fuller's Holy War, p. 56.

[h] Heylin, p. 145.

[i] Ib. p. 274.

[k] Ib. p. 449. seq. 293. Fuller's Holy War, p. 27.

[l] Heylin, p. 134. 272. 275. Selden, § 41. The churches, as Butler observes, were innumerable. And Sir P. Rycaut says, that if there were two churches in a town, speaking of the East, one of them was sure to be sacred to St. George. See Churchill, IV. p. 38, 39.

[m] Selden, § 41. See hereafter.

[n] Heylin, p. 223. seq. Caxton's Golden Legend, f. cvii. b.

[o] Selden, § 41. Heylin, p. 210. seq.

our Ancestors, on their return from the East; and, in particular, in the reign of King Edward the Third, should deem of him otherwise, than as having been once a true man, and more than an ideal figment of the brain. Whence Mr. Selden writes, and with great judgment and propriety, "That the
 " many and ancient Dedications of Churches to him, old Relations of his Miracles and Apparitions, the peculiar Liturgies
 " and Festivals in both Churches [Greek and Latin] belonging
 " to him, and divers other particulars before-mentioned or
 " designed of him (his being a Martyr having been never,
 " before this Age, questioned), may supply the full weight of
 " the best ecclesiastical story that could have been left of
 " him [p]." Indeed, this excellent Scholar and Antiquary, was fully convinced, upon the strictest enquiry, of the existence of St. George, both as a man and a martyr; and the same may be said of Sir Walter Raleigh, Doctor Heylin, and Dr. Fuller, the latter of whom, rejecting the allegorical sense some would put on St. George's story, observes the improbability of the English nation's chusing a fictitious Saint for their Patron, when the world abounds with so many real ones [q]. Dr. Heylin, who has handled the argument the most copiously, has shewn that authors of all ages, from Eusebius Caesariensis, A. 326, to Henr. Oraeus, A. 1600, have acknowledged the reality of our Saint and Martyr[r]; and I shall here beg leave to recite his Conclusion, so pertinent to the purpose, though the passage be somewhat long. "If
 " we consult the Testimonies of all sorts of men, (says this
 " learned and diligent writer), we find Saint George to be thus
 " reckoned, [that is, a martyr] both by *Turkes* (as in the next

[p] Selden, § 43; *versus finem*.

[q] Fuller's Holy War, p. 27.

[r] Heylin, p. 161. seq.

“ chapter) and by Christians; by the West churches, and the
 “ Easterne; by Papists, and by Protestants; by Princes, Pre-
 “ lates, and their People; by writers antient and moderne.
 “ If we expect the general consent herein of all the times
 “ and ages, since his death and martyrdome, we have already
 “ made it plaine by way of a Chronologie[s], that there hath
 “ been no age, no not that *seculum infelix*, as it is called by
 “ Bellarmine, in which we have not plentiful assurance of our
 “ cause. And for the close of all, looke into all parts of the
 “ world, and tell me which of all the three, hath not afforded
 “ honour to him as an holy martyr. His name commemorated
 “ in the Martyrologies of Rome and Greece; his Reliques reve-
 “ renced in Spaine, Constantinople, France, and Germany; Tem-
 “ ples erected to his honour, in Rome, Thrace, Ramula, Diof-
 “ polis, Alexandria, Caire, and Æthiopia, and in other places, by
 “ Prelates, Popes, and Emperours; Temples in Asia, Europe,
 “ and in Africa. And in the principal Cities also of the East,
 “ and West, and Southern parts of the whole world. Then
 “ certainly we may affirme of our St. George, as the Historian
 “ did of Pompey. *Quot partes terrarum sunt, tot fecit monumenta*
 “ *victoriæ suæ*[s]. So then, the storie of Saint George, and
 “ the opinion of his being a martyr, having beene entertained
 “ by all sorts of men, in all the ages of the church, and all
 “ the quarters of the world, we may maintaine according to
 “ the rule of *Lerinenfis*[u], that therefore it is to be counted
 “ true, without more disputing. The one affirmed by Doctor

[s] He refers here to the Catalogue of Authors put down by him, p. 161. seq.

[t] Vell. Patercul. l. ii.

[u] Vincensius Lerinenfis advers. Hæres. cap. 3. whose words are; “ In
 “ Ecclesia Catholica illud magnopere curandum est, ut teneamus id, quod ab
 “ omnibus, quod semper, quod ubique, creditum est.”

"*Reynolds* [w], *Georgius, quem orientalis, et occidentalis ecclesia pro martyre colit.*" And in another place, "*Universalem ecclesiam, hoc est, orientalem et occidentalem, Georgium, pro martyre coluisse*: out of which one so granted, we will, without demanding leave, conclude the other [x]."

To return to our ancestors in the 14th Century. It is plain to demonstration, that K. Edward III. esteemed St. George a real person; for, he says, expressly, in the extant copies of his Statutes, "*Ad honorem omnipotentis Dei, Sanctae Mariae, Virginis gloriosae, et Sancti Georgii Martyris, Dominus noster,*" &c. [y]. And, I think it not improbable, that, in those days of darkness, the best people could believe even the story of St. George's killing the Dragon in its literal sense, as Jacobus de Voragine had then broached it in the Golden Legend; just as the antient Greeks and Romans did that of Perseus and Andromeda, of Apollo and Python, and of Bellerophon and the Chimaera, without ever recurring to the physical and recondite meaning of them; though we, who are now living in a more enlightened age, can see so many reasons for discarding them all. So far, according to my conception, would the court of King Edward the Third be, from refining upon an equestrian figure with a dragon underneath it, either by putting a spiritual interpretation upon it, or by accepting and using it as a talisman or charm. And the same may be said of our Knights in the reign of K. Henry VIII.

[w] This learned man was of opinion, that St. George the Martyr, of Capadocia, was the same person as George the *Arian*, bishop of Alexandria. See above, p. 3.

[x] Dr. Heylin, p. 241.

[y] Ashmole in Appendice, passim. and see there, N° i. also the book, p. 152. 189.

who first brought *the George* into the Order [2], and promises to his statutes, "Whereas . . . Edward, the Thirde of that Name . . . to th' honour of Almighty God, and of the " blessed and immaculate Virgyn Marie, and the bleffid Martir " Sainte George," &c. Dr. Pettingal, I observe, builds much on this Equestrian figure, as apposite to the representation of the Sun, Perseus, Bellerophon, &c. on some ancient Remains, whose Images he conceives are physically to be understood, and as so many hieroglyphics. But, with submission to this learned Antiquary, our ancestors in the time of Edward III. and Henry VIII. put no such abstruse meaning on the story of St. George, understanding the usual effigies of their patron literally; since, both in the East [a], and here in England [b], he was wont to be depicted in that form, before the Order of the Garter was created. And one cannot but subscribe to the declaration of Mr. Selden, "that no apter figure could be made of " him, being supposed a soldier and a commander [c]." And in that shape we behold him, on the coins of Russia [d], and on their arms [e].

[2] See p. 15, note 2.

[a] Nicephorus Gregoras apud Seldenum, § 44. And see the citation from Baronius in that section. See also § 41. versus finem. Heylin, p. 75. 277. and Dr. Pettingal, p. 36. 44. Nicephorus indeed ends his history about 1345; but then he speaks of the Equestrian Statue of St. George, as much older. And the Apparition of the Saint at Antioch was accordingly on horseback, as Henry of Huntingdon, p. 376. represents it.

[b] See p. 24.

[c] Selden, § 44.

[d] Of St. George, as a great Russian Saint, see Heylin, p. 278. And for the coins, in particular, see Dr. Pettingal, p. 25; and what will be advanced concerning them hereafter, p. 10.

[e] Selden, § 44. Gordon's Geograph. Grammar, p. 79.

THE DOCTOR, when he speaks of Bellerophon, Perseus, &c. finds a proper etymology for their names in their symbolical characters [f]; but there is nothing congruous to this in respect of St. George, as Dr. Heylin well observes, whose name only signifies *an husbandman* [g]; whence I should think it extremely forced and unnatural, to put the like interpretation upon his figures, and to construe that in a mystical sense also.

THE DOCTOR has interested the Basilidian Hereticks very much in this business, and has actually engraved, p. 25, three small irregular silver pieces, *of undoubted genuineness and antiquity, about twelve or thirteen hundred years old, with Ephesian letters* (as he characterises them), and, taking them for *Abraxas*, has bestowed two or three pages in explaining them upon that plan, but to very little purpose or satisfaction, since they appear to me to be modern Russian coins. I am sure, I have two of the same stamp, brought from Dantzic, and given to me for such; and the Inscriptions on those adduced by the Doctor answer to the Russian Kopeicks and half Kopeicks, described in Snelling's Current coins of Europe, p. 11. as having on one side St. George, and on the other *Russ letters*. The same figure of St. George and the Dragon hanging in a shield round the neck of the double-headed spread eagle, make part of the arms of Russia.

I FLATTER myself, upon the whole, that enough has been said, though but in brief, to incline any one to the opinion of Mr. Selden, Dr. Heylin, and the other learned gentlemen above, who think, that, though some few scholars have doubted of the being and existence of St. George, and have even attempted to interpret his history in an allegorical sense; yet there is

[f] Bellerophon he deduces, p. 11. from *Baal*, or *Belrope*, the God of Healing; and Perseus, p. 12. from *Pera*, an horseman.

[g] Heylin, p. 125. seq. 334.

sufficient evidence to induce a belief, both of the reality of his personal existence, and of his Martyrdom. This is all I contend for; since, as to the miracles reported to have been performed by him, and various other particulars of his history contained in the Legends, I pretend not to justify, or receive them. But as to the two points I mentioned, St. George's existence and his martyrdom, there appears to be as full proof of them, as of most other historical facts. Dr. Pettingal, indeed, remarks, that Procopius, who lived in the time of Justinian, is the first person that mentions our Saint; and that Nicephorus Gregoras, who wrote under Andronicus Senior, in the fourteenth century, is the first that speaks of his Equestrian figure[b]. But Dr. Heylin has rendered it exceedingly probable, that the great ecclesiastical historian Eusebius, though he has not particularly expressed St. George's name, has yet sufficiently pointed him out in his 8th book[i]. I take no notice of the testimony of St. Ambrose, *Georgius Christi miles fidelissimus*, &c. because his *Liber Praefationum*, whence those words are taken, is not extant, and the words are only cited by some comparatively recent authors[k]. But it is thought by several learned men[l], that Lactantius, in his book *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, a work that was not published when Dr. Heylin wrote, when he says, speaking of the edict against the Christians, "Quod edictum quidam, etsi non recte, magno tamen animo diripuit et concidit, cum irridens diceret victorias Gothorum et Sarmatarum praepositas. Statimque pro ductus, non modo extortus, sed etiam legitime coctus, cum

[b] Dr. Pettingal, p. 27.

[i] Heylin, p. 149. seq.

[k] Ib. p. 153.

[l] Mr. Wheatley, on the Book of Common Prayer, p. 64. Mr. Butler, in Lives of Saints, 23d April.

"*admirabili patientia postremo exultus est* [*m*]," meant our champion St. George. As to Nicephorus, his history ends, we allow, A. 1345; but then it appears from his words, as given by Dr. Heylin, that St. George was pictured on horseback in Baldwin's time, who acceded to the empire A. 1227, and that the picture might have been in the palace long before [*n*]. However, as the ensign of the George did not come into use till the reign of King Henry VIII. [*o*], there was, certainly, time enough between A. 1345 and that reign, for the Equestrian figure of our Saint to prevail here. But we shall shew, in the sequel, that this device was received here long before even the year 1345.

THINGS hitherto seem to have gone much in our favour in regard to Dr. Pettingal, whom, with his chimerical exposition of the George, his talismans and amulets, we shall here finally dismiss. But our Patron-Saint is in danger of annihilation from another quarter. A formidable enemy has started up in the person of Mr. Byrom, who has endeavoured to eject him of all his claims. This Gentleman has addressed a piece, in his *Miscellaneous Poems* [*p*], to the late Lord Willoughby of Parham, as President of the Society of Antiquaries, London; wherein he inclines to think we are all mistaken in taking St. George of Cappadocia, or even any George, whether real or emblematical, for the Patron of the Order of the Garter, or of the kingdom of England in general; since, in all

[*m*] *Lactant. de mort. Persecut. c. 12. p. 862.* edit. Sparke and Baluze's note, who shews the Acts of St. George, published by Henschenius, tom. III. p. 107. to be spurious.

[*n*] Heylin, p. 77.

[*o*] See p. 15, note *y*.

[*p*] Manchester, 1773, 2 vol. 12mo. vol. I.

probability, Pope Gregory the Great, under whose auspices the English Saxons were converted to Christianity by St. Augustine of Canterbury, is our true and proper Patron, and not St. George, whose name, by some means or other, has crept into the books and into the Patronage of the kingdom, to the exclusion of that of St. Gregory.

My late worthy friend Mr. Byrom, whose memory I shall always revere, was undoubtedly a man of parts and learning, but rather too fond sometimes of a paradox. Amongst his other qualifications, he had a particular knack at versification, and has accordingly delivered his sentiments on this subject, as well as on all others, in a metrical garb; for, I presume, we can scarce call it a poetical one. His Rhapsody, however, on the Patron of England, is highly derogatory to the honour of the whole nation, implying, that the institution of the most noble Order of the Garter was at first founded in error and mistake; and that since then we have all been involved, Kings, Lords, and Commons[9], in a *missioner*, for no less than four centuries.

In one line of his Disquisition I am particularly called upon to consider this point; and as the piece is now published, and the other three Gentlemen there named, Dr. Browne Willis, Dr. William Stukeley, and Mr. Joseph Ames, are now all dead, it seems to be a duty incumbent upon me, to examine the performance, and to reply to Mr. Byrom's arguments in the best manner I can; though I should execute the task only in humble

[9] See Act of Parl. 5 & 6 E. VI. c. 3. Dr. Heylin, p. 5. As also the Statutes of the Order made by King Edw. III. King Hen. VIII. &c. in Ashmole.

prose. The affair is national[r]; and therefore, "laying aside
"all lesser matters of curiosity," as Dr. Pettingal wishes the
Members of the Society of Antiquaries would do[s], I shall
immediately proceed on the business.

Mr. Byrom stands single, so far as I can recollect, in his
opinion; however, he queries,

If *Georgius* ben't a mistake for *Gregorius*?
for, says he,

In names so likeletter'd, it would be no wonder
If hasty transcribers had made such a blunder;
And mistake in the names, by a slip of their pen,
May, perhaps, have occasion'd mistake in the men;
That this has been made, to omit all the rest,
Let a champion of your's, your own Selden, attest;
See his Book upon Titles of Honor—that quarter,
Where he treats of St. *George*, and the *Knights of the Garter*.

There he quotes from *Froissart*, how at first, on the Plan
Of a Lady's blue Garter, blue Order began,
In one thousand, three hundred, and forty, and four.
But the name of the Saint in *Froissart*, is *Gregore*;
So the Chronicle writer, or printed, or wrote;
"For *George*, without doubt," says the marginal Note:
Be it there a mistake—But, my Lord, I'm afraid,
That the same, *vice versa*, was anciently made.

[r] Hence Dr. Byrom styles it,

A certain moot point, of a *national kind*,
For it touches all England to have it defin'd,
With a little more fact, by what kind of a right,
Her Patron, her Saint, is a *Cappadox Knight*.

[s] Introd. p. vi.

BUT

BUT Mr. Byrom, I doubt, is mistaken in the very ground and foundation of his conjecture; for, Mr. Selden, whom he cites, does not say, that *Froissart* has *Gregore* for *George*; but, that in a *French Chronicle*, written by a Frenchman, temp. Henry VIII. *Gregore* occurs for *George* [1]. And in my copy of *Froissart*, printed A. D. 1505, the name of the Saint is plainly written *George*: as also it is in Sir John Bouchyer Lord Berner's English translation of him, chap. 100. So that both Mr. Selden and the Author stand clear in this matter, both of them concurring, and without any various reading, in invariably giving the patronage of the Order of the Garter to St. *George*.

WE will grant, however, what Mr. Byrom here notices, that the names of *George* and *Gregory* have been often confounded in ancient authors. This fact is plain, from two passages of Mr. Selden's book [u]; and many other instances might, if necessary, be produced [x]. This arose partly, as he observes, from the similitude of the two names; and partly, as I think, from the scribes writing names with initials only, which, as the learned well know, has occasioned an infinity of *misnomers* in our old authors: in particular, there are many errors springing from this cause in that excellent historian, Matthew Paris. The concession here made, and even in the largest extent, will be of no use or service to our learned antagonist; because the fable of the Dragon, a very principal portion of St. George's Legend, and the basis at length of the Equestrian figure on the George [y],

[1] Selden, Titles of Honor, § 40.

[u] Ib. Pt. II. c. 5. § 40. 42.

[x] Heylin, p. 85. seq. 200. 235. 275. Tho. Salmon, New Hist. Account of St. George, p. 60. 62. Pt. II. p. 24.

[y] The *George* was not introduced into the *Insignia* of the Order of the Garter till the reign of King Henry VIII. History of the most noble Order of the Garter, Lond. 1715, 8vo. chap. vii. § 6. seq. Dr. Dawson, Mem. of St. George, p. 117. 136. 140. Ashmole, p. 226.

belongs,

belongs, clearly and indisputably, to St. George the Cappadocian Martyr, and not to St. Gregory the Great. Had a like story been told of the Pope, the adversary's observation might have carried some weight; but, in the present case, and as it now stands, the appearance of the Knight and the Dragon on the George incontestably ascertains the name, the Dragon and the fable about it being from ancient time appropriated to St. George alone, as a Christian Saint, to the exclusion of all the Gregories that ever existed. And the legend of St. George's killing a Dragon is related by Jacobus de Voragine [z], not less than sixty years before the institution of the Order of the Garter by King Edward the Third [a]. But, more than this, the day assigned to St. George, in the Greek, in the Roman, and in our Calendar, is the 23d of April, agreeing with the Feast of the Order, and a very different one from that allotted to St. Gregory, which is the 12th of March, a day entirely unconnected with the Order or its Feast; whence it follows irresistibly, as we may again note hereafter, that St. George cannot possibly be mistaken as Patron of the Order of the Garter, for St. Gregory, though we admit that the names of George and Gregory have been often miswritten, one for another, in books.

To end this matter; a casual *misnomer* in an author, who wrote so late as the reign of King Henry the Eighth [b], can

[z] In *Legenda Aurea*, cap. 56. and we are not certain that he was the first author of it. On the contrary, it is reasonable to think he had it from some vulgar story current before his time.

[a] Jacobus flourished, at latest, A. D. 1290, Heylin, p. 13. The Order, according to Froissart, chap. 100. and Selden, § 40. was instituted A. D. 1344; but others, with greater probability, think it did not commence till 1349 or 1350. See Leland ad Cygn. Cantionem, p. 99. edit. Hearne. Selden, l. c. Dr. Heylin, p. 319. Mr. Oldys, Brit. Librarian, p. 72. Dawson's Mem. p. 42.

[b] See before, p. 15.

form but a slender argument, in proving that a Cappadocian Martyr has been confounded with a celebrated Pope of Rome, when their countries are so distant, their times so remote [c], their characters so diverse, and not one similar circumstance to countenance the mistake; but, on the contrary, as we shall see in the sequel, every thing making against that supposition. Certainly Mr. Byrom must have something more firm and weighty to produce, than such cobweb evidence as this. And what that is, we must in the next place enquire.

He contends, that, as Pope Gregory the Great was, in fact, the Apostle of the Anglo-Saxons, by virtue of his sending Augustine, the monk, to convert them, it was natural for them to receive that Pope for their Patron; as the French have done with St. Denys; the Scots, with St. Andrew; the Irish, with St. Patrick; and the Spaniards, with St. James.

BUT I shall give you his words:

I know what our Songs, and our Stories advance,
That St. George is for England, St. Denys for France:
But the French, tho' uncertain what Denys it was,
All own he converted, and taught 'em their mass:
And most other nations, I fancy, remount
To a Saint, whom they chose upon some such account:
But I never could learn, that, for any like notion,
The English made choice of a Knight Cappadocian.

[c] St. George is supposed to have suffered under Dioclesian, A. D. 290; and Pope Gregory I. began to sit A. D. 590, leaving a space of three hundred years between them.

In Stanza 8th, he says:

Some GEORGE, by like errors [*d*] (it adds to the doubt),
Has turn'd our Converter, St. Gregory, out :
He, or Austin, the monk, bid the fairest, by far,
To be Patron of England—till Garter and Star.

And in the 10th ;

Now with Mary and Peter, when monarchs were crown'd,
There is only a Sanctus Gregorius found ;
And his title—Anglorum Apostolus—too ;
With which your St. George can have nothing to do :
While Scotland, and Ireland, and France, and Spain, claims
A St. Andrew, St. Patrick, St. Denys, St. James,
Both Apostle and Patron—for Saint so unknown
Why should England reject an Apostle her own ?

BUT Mr. Byrom's argumentation here is, truly and properly speaking, beside the purpose ; since we are not to consider what *might* have been, or what *ought* to have been the case, but what it really was. And as to the merit of his conjecture, that St. Gregory ought, for the reasons he gives, to have been our Patron-Saint, he did not reflect that St. George is to be considered *as a military Saint principally* ; and as such may very well consist with St. Mary, St. Peter, St. Gregory, St. Augustine the monk, or any other partners whomsoever. And so we find, that Antonius Macedo, in his book, *De Diis tutelaribus orbis Christiani*, reckons St. Mary and St. Peter to be the general

[*d*] Alluding to the *misnomers* which we have above considered.

Patrons.

Patrons of England, but *in re militari Georgius* [e]; which accounts very fairly and sufficiently for the invocation of St. Mary, and St. Peter, and St. Gregory, in the ancient forms applied at our Coronations [f]; and, I may add, for the omission of St. George's name upon those occasions. Thus, when this Saint is viewed in a military capacity, the state of the matter is quite altered; and it is certain, that he was esteemed the Patron of Knights in general [g], and more particularly of the English military, who, in the onset of their battles, were wont to invoke his name as a war-cry [h]. King Edward the Third, in the battle of Calais, A. 1349, addressed him and St Edward the Confessor, publicly in the field, with his drawn sword in his hand [i]. I apprehend the case to be this; when the English Croisces went into the East in the first Crusade, A. 1096, they found St. George, upon their arrival there, a great Warrior-Saint amongst the Christians of those parts [k], and his name one of the most eminent in their calendars. They had some knowledge of him before as a Saint and Martyr, having beheld him in that capacity in their Calendars and Martyrologies, brought to them, probably, from

[e] Antonius Macedo apud Fabricium in Bibliograph. Antiquar. p. 264. See also Selden, § 40. seq. Dr. Pettingal, p. iv. and viii. And Mr. Byrom himself, Stanza 9.

[f] See Mr. Byrom's Verses quoted above.

[g] Fabricius, Bibliogr. Antiquar. p. 267. Selden, § 41. Heylin, p. 38. 244. 278.

[h] Camden, Remains, apud Heylin, p. 301. and see this last author, 304. and the Golden Legend, by Caxton, fol. cvii. 6.

[i] Selden, § 40, 41. Heylin, p. 331. Duchesne says he did it at Cressy also. Ibid. and Ashmole, p. 188.

[k] Malmesbury, iv. p. 139. Selden, § 41. See above, p. 5. note l.

Rome [l]; as likewise, from the information of Adamnanus [m]; but they seem not to have been sensible either of his transcendent dignity and consequence, his being in the Greek church ὁ Μεγαλομάρτυς, *the great Martyr*; or of his heroical character, whereby he was ὁ Τρωπαιοφόρος, *the Victorious*, till their expedition into the Levant. On their return, therefore, they brought home with them these new notions and ideas; and thenceforward, as I conceive, St. George became to the English, along with St. Maurice, St. Sebastian, &c. the Tutelary of all warlike men. And thus it should seem, that for a particular purpose, a nation might very plausibly adopt a Saint in these times (especially when one can so rationally account for it), who was different from their *apostle*, or first converter; that there was no absurdity or incongruity in such proceeding; and that the case was really so with the good people of our island.

MR. Byrom observes next, from Mr. Selden, that St. George does not occur as Patron of England till the reign of King Edward the Third [n].

S T A N Z A 6.

For tho' much has been said, by the great Antiquarian [o],
Of an orthodox George—Cappadocian—and Arian;

[l] The Offices of the Latin church were full of St. George. Selden, § 424. Heylin, p. 210. seq. And we may depend upon it, that, in the great intercourse which both the Saxons and Normans had with the city of Rome, service-books were constantly importing thence into our island.

[m] See Cave's *Hist. Literar.* p. 389. Edit. Genev. and Heylin, p. 291. seq.

[n] Dr. Heylin also says, that King Edward chose him for the Patron of the kingdom, p. 322. 331.

[o] Mr. Selden.

How

How the soldier first came to be Patron, of old,
I have not, says he, light enough to behold:
A soldierlike nation, he guesses (for want
Of a proof that she did so) would chuse him for Saint:
For, in all his old writings, no fragment occur'd,
That saluted him Patron, till Edward the Third.

His reign, he had guess'd to have been the first time,
But for old Saxon prose, and for old English rhyme;
Which mention a George, a great Martyr, and Saint;
Tho' they say not one word of the thing that we want.
They tell of his tortures, his death, and his pray'r,
Without the least hint of the question'd affair:
That light, I should guess, with submission to Selden,
As he was not the Patron, he was not beheld in.

Now as to his position, confirmed by Dr. Heylin, that St. George does not occur as Patron of England till King Edward the Third's time; I answer, that this is not strictly true, as will be seen hereafter [p]. In the interim, I beg leave to remark, that this negative argument can be but of small force; since we are so well assured, that St. George was known here long before in the capacity of an eminent Saint and Martyr, and, I may add, as the Patron of Soldiers; and that it is not very reasonable to call upon us, at this time of day, when our ancient records and writings are so few, and the occasions of mentioning our Patron-Saint so rare, to produce evidence, that he was received as our *tutelary general*, either by the Saxons, or by the Normans at the Conquest. Supposing again, and even admitting, that St. George was not esteemed our peculiar Patron in

[p] See p. 26.

Rome [l]; as likewise, from the information of Adamnanus [m]; but they seem not to have been sensible either of his transcendent dignity and consequence, his being in the Greek church ὁ Μεγαλομάρτυς, *the great Martyr*; or of his heroical character, whereby he was ὁ Τροπαιοφόρος, *the Victorious*, till their expedition into the Levant. On their return, therefore, they brought home with them these new notions and ideas; and thenceforward, as I conceive, St. George became to the English, along with St. Maurice, St. Sebastian, &c. the Tutelary of all warlike men. And thus it should seem, that for a particular purpose, a nation might very plausibly adopt a Saint in these times (especially when one can so rationally account for it), who was different from their *apostle*, or first converter; that there was no absurdity or incongruity in such proceedings; and that the case was really so with the good people of our island.

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[l] The Offices of the Latin church were full of St. George. Selden, § 421. Heylin, p. 210. seq. And we may depend upon it, that, in the great intercourse which both the Saxons and Normans had with the city of Rome, service-books were constantly importing thence into our island.

[m] See Cave's Hist. Literar. p. 389. Edit. Genev. and Heylin, p. 291. seq.

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[p] See p. 26.

those

those early and more remote ages; yet, he might easily become such afterwards, when our people had visited the Holy Land, and were thence returned. There intervened a space of almost three hundred years between the Norman Conquest and the Institution of the Order of the Garter, placing this last in the year 1350. And, as Mr. Selden pertinently remarks, "It is
 " nothing strange that so military a nation [as ours] should
 " chuse the name of such a Soldier Saint [for their Patron],
 " and of one so known by the peculiar name of *Tropaiophorus*,
 " or Victorious," &c. [9].

As to St. George's being known in the island in the Saxon ages, Adamnanus about the year 690 testifies, that Arculfus, after his return from the East, "etiam nobis de quodam martyre, Georgio nomine, narrationem contulit[r]." Venerable Bede lived not long after Adamnanus, and in his *Martyrologies* you have *Natale S. Georgii martyris* placed against the 23d of April; whereupon Dr. Smith writes, "Dicendum tamen est
 " . . . et quod gens *Anglica* in *S. Georgii* patrocinium præcipue concessit, nec tantum recentioribus ætatibus, sed ab ipsis
 " *Anglo-Saxonici* dominatus principiis; quod putamus probari
 " ex hoc ipso loco *Bædæ* genuini martyrologii, qui eodem
 " modo quo Christi et Apostolorum festa, festum quoque
 " *S. Georgii* simplicissime indicavit." This learned annotator certainly infers too much, when he collects from this passage alone, that the English nation had been under the Patronage of St. George, from the very beginning of the Anglo-Saxon government [1]; for this testimony cannot possibly

[9] Selden, § 43.

[r] Heylin, p. 292. where see more of Arculfus's information to the Saxons concerning our martyr.

[1] Dr. Dawson also, in his Preface, runs into the same mistake, but see him p. 17. and Dr. Heylin, p. 290. who is against St. George's being our Saint-Protector so early as this, and very justly.

amount to any more than that St. George was a Saint of rank here in those early times: this is the whole which I intend it should prove. Mr. Selden produces a Saxon Martyrology from the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; which, from the language and hand, he judges may be about the age of St. Dunstan, and where in April the entry in Saxon is to this purpose: "On the three and twentieth day, is Saint George's feast, that noble martyr, whom *Datianus* the emperor seven yere together, with unspeakable tortures urged to renounce Christ, which when he could not bring to passe, he cut off his head [t]." Among the Saxon Homilies also of Alfricus, who flourished about A. D. 1000, St. George is mentioned, and his martyrdom described under *Datianus*[u]; who, as Mr. Selden with great probability conjectures, may be *Diocletianus* in a contracted form; or, as Dr. Heylin opines, may be *Galerius Maximianus*, by birth a *Dacian*[w], and not improperly, nor ununsually, designed, by a name borrowed from his country [x]. Lastly, there was an house of regular canons, sacred to St. George, at Thetford, in Norfolk, founded by Ulvius, first abbot of Bury, temp. R. Canuti[y]. We learn again from a passage

[t] Selden, § 43. This is the old Saxon prose intended by Dr. Byrom. And there is another extract from this curious MS. in the same section.

[u] Selden, § 43. Heylin, p. 293.

[w] Dr. Pettingal surmises, that *Datianus* may be a corruption rather of *Athanasius*, as if the story of St. George had been formed upon that of George, the heretical and infamous bishop of Alexandria, Diss:rt. p. 35. but the characters of the two Georges are so contrary and incompatible, that there is no probability in this. See Dr. Heylin, pt. I. chap. 3. 6. & 7. where this subject is treated at large. By a like misnomer the Golden Legend, p. 203. 207. 210. 211. calls the emperor Decius, *Dacyan*: for he is not the same with *Galen* or Gallienus, as Mr. Parkin, Answer to Stukeley's Palaeographia, p. 42.

[x] Heylin, p. 269.

[y] Tanner, Notit. p. 349.

in Somner [z], that St. George's church at Canterbury was in being before the middle of the 11th century. It is suspected, and with some colour of reason, that St. George's, in the Borough of Southwark, was consecrated to our martyr before the Norman invasion [a].

I ENTER now on the Post-Normannic times; and here, Dr. Heylin will inform you of a chapel founded in honour of him, A. 1074 [b]. Sir William de Mohun, the elder, temp. Gul. Conq. built a priory of Benedictine Monks on the N. W. side of Dunster castle, co. Somerset, to the honour of St. George [c]. And A. 1074 or 1075, Robert D'Oily and Roger Iveri founded and endowed out of their estates the collegiate church of St. George for secular canons within the castle of Oxford [d]. William, son of Nigel de Greisley, dedicated the Priory of Canons at Greisley, in the county of Derby, to St. Mary and St. George, in the reign of king Henry I. [e]. The seals of this religious foundation are extant in drawings in a MS. Chartulary of the library at Manchester, one with the Equestrian figure of St. George alone, inscribed *+ Sigillum Prioratus Sti. Georgii de Greseley*, and another with the same type, and the Dragon underneath, whereof the Legend is *Sigillum Coventus Sti. Georgii de Greseley A ::* The first of these seals belongs plainly, as appears from the instrument it hangs to, to the reign of Henry II. or Richard I. and the latter to the year 1420 [f]. It appears to me from a deed sans date, and from

[z] Somner's Antiq. of Canterbury, p. 10.

[a] Heylin, p. 293. Maitland, p. 1382.

[b] Heylin, p. 294.

[c] Tanner, Notit. p. 467.

[d] Kennet's Par. Antiq. p. 59. Tanner, Notit. p. 418.

[e] Tanner, Notit. p. 79.

[f] It is evident, from the former of these seals, that the fable of the Dragon had not reached England in the 12th century.

another

another of 19 E. I. in the same Cartulary, that the family of Greisley, which is indeed very ancient, made use of the same device on their seals; whence it should seem, that they regarded St. George as the peculiar Patron and Advocate of their house [g]; and, that the Saint was commonly represented here in the 12th and 13th century on horseback [b]. William of Malmſbury, who flourished A. D. 1143, in the reign of king Stephen, mentions St. George in his fourth book twice [i]. And Mr. Selden cites a MS. written, indeed, in the reign of Henry VIII. but affording a passage relative to that of Richard I. It is intituled, *Institutio clarissimi Ordinis Militaris a praenobili subligaculo nuncupati*. The place is too remarkable to be omitted, and I shall therefore give it from Mr. Selden. He tells us, that though the original of the Order is justly attributed to king Edward the Third, “ yet a purpose of making it is supposed much ancients in an autor that wrote under Henry “ the Eight He says, that Richard the First purposed it “ in the holy warres, where in a tedious siege, *tandem illabente* “ *per Divi Georgii, ut opinatum est, interventum spiritu, venit* “ *in mentem ut quorundam electorum militum cruribus coriaceum* “ *subfibulum quale ad manus tunc solum habebat, indueret, quo futu-* “ *rae gloriae memores et condito, si vincerent, ad rem fortiter ac* “ *srenue gerendam experserent, ad Romanorum instar apud quos* “ *illa coronarum varietas, quibus variis de causis donati sunt et in-*

[g] I think it not improbable, that William, founder of the priory, had been in the Holy Land.

[b] And when afterwards king Edward III. as Polyd. Vergil tells us, represented St. George, armed and mounted on an horse, he appeared to have followed the notions and ideas of former times. Polyd. Verg. p. 486. Edit. 1651.

[i] P. 139, 140.

“ *signiti milites, ut his velut irritamentis excussa vecordia virtus*
 “ *animi fortitudoque pectoris fervidior exurgeret atque exiliret*; what
 “ ancient testimony hee had to justifie this, I have not yet
 “ learned [k].” And it is plain, that the church of St. George,
 at Colgate, in the city of Norwich, was erected before A. D.
 1226 [l]. Walter de Berney was vicar of it in the time of
 bishop Walpole from 1288 to 1299. There was a fraternity or
 gild of St. George established in the Black-friars church at
 Norwich 1385, to which Sir John Fastolf gave “ an angel
 “ silver, silver and guylt, beryng the arme of St. George.”
 q. his *cross* or his *limb*. This fraternity subsisted till 1731,
 when being deeply in debt they surrendered their effects to the
 corporation [m]. There was another fraternity in honor of this
 Saint in the church at Pool, 1484 [n]. But however this may
 be, abundant evidence has been given, that St. George was no
 stranger to our Anglo-Saxons, without the least hint, that he
 was either a creature of the imagination, or had usurped the
 place of any other Saint.

BUT the words of the Charter of Institution, and of the
 statutes given to the Order by king Henry the Eighth, imply
 strongly that St. George was the reputed Patron of England
 before king Edward the Third's time; a circumstance very
 decisive in respect of Mr. Byrom's assertion, that St. George
 does not occur as our Patron till that reign. It is said, in both
 these instruments, that king Edward the Third, to the honour
 of Almighty God and of the blessed Virgin Mary, and the

[k] Selden, § 40. See also Camden, Britan. col. 172. Heylin, p. 322.
 Ashmole, p. 181.

[l] Blomfield's Hist. of the city of Norwich, p. 825. Tanner, Notit. p. 359.

[m] Blomfield, ib. 734. 737.

[n] Hutchins, Dorset. i. 7.

blessed

bleſſed martyr Saint *George*, Patron of the right noble Realme of ENGLAND, &c. to the exaltation of the holy faith catholicke, ordained, eſtabliſhed, created, and founded the Order [o]; where, as it appears to me, king Edward regarded our Champion-Saint as the *known Patron of England*, at the very time of the erection of the Order, and conſequently, that he muſt have been taken for ſuch many years before.

It is not poſſible, in the next place, to believe, that St. George's day would be made a *feſtival* here, before the reign of king Edward the Third, unleſs he had been our national Patron; this, however, was done, as it is ſaid, A. D. 1222; and we have the following account of the matter in Dr. Heylin [p]. A day of commemoration had been appointed for him and ſolemnized with a peculiar ſervice, and at the laſt, "The day deputed to his commemoration," ſays the Doctor, "was made a *feſtival*. An honour not communicated, but unto thoſe moſt eminent of that good fellowſhip; and therefore, a ſtrong evidence of the church's good affection to Saint *George*, and opinion of him. This done, in a ſynod held at Oxon, Anno 1222, for the Latine churches, wherein it was enacted, that this feaſt, with others therein mentioned, ſhould afterwards be celebrated by the parochial prieſts, with divine ſervice; and that the people ſhould abſtaine from all ſervile works, as on other of the holy days [q]."

Is it not moſt clear, then, that St. George was the reputed Patron of England before the days of Edward III? But perhaps it may be asked, when, and in what precise year, he was advanced

[o] Selden, § 40. Heylin, p. 331. Dawson, p. 46. 71. Ashmole, p. 188.

[p] Heylin, p. 218.

[q] Mr. Butler alſo, in the Lives of the Saints, 23 April, mentions this Council of Oxford. See alſo Ashmole, p. 469. But I find nothing about St. George in Dr. Wilkins's Councils, I. p. 515. which I much wonder at.

to that honour? I must confess my ignorance, in this point, as Mr. Selden very ingenuously does [r]. He certainly was guardian of the Order of the Garter from the first creation of it; but how long before that he had been esteemed the special protector of the kingdom, is a question of some difficulty, and perhaps can only be resolved by plausible conjecture.

ONE may observe, from the words of the anonymous author cited page 26, that, when king Richard had it in intention to found an Order of much the same kind with that of the Garter, the hint or suggestion was supposed to come by the intervention and influence of our champion St. George; this King, according to Cotoiicus, repaired also St. George's church at Lydda or Diospolis [s]. Whence I should think it more than probable, that king Richard and his companions held this Saint in especial veneration; and that in particular they elevated him into the rank of their avowed Patron in the East; after which, it was a very easy step for them to import him into their own country, on their return to it, in the same light and capacity [t]; whence, and from which period, he would gradually and insensibly become the Patron and Protector of this warlike nation. And as thenceforward he was possessed of this high rank and dignity, and long before the year 1350, it was most obvious and natural for the great king, Edward the Third, to put his novel Order under his more immediate tutelage, especially as it was entirely of the military kind. These are my sentiments on this difficult problem; others, who may have better lights, will judge as they please; I would only beg leave to remind them, that king Richard died above 150 years before king Edward's Order was instituted.

[r] Selden, § 43.

[s] Id. § 41. *

[t] See Heylin, p. 322. seq. Wheatley on the Common Prayer, p. 64.

I RETURN to Mr. Byrom. He asserts, that our Saint does not occur as Patron of England till the reign of king Edward the Third; and we have shewn, in reply, first, that by testimony irrefragable he was well known in England both before and after the Norman conquest; and, secondly, that in all human probability, he grew to be the established Patron of the kingdom in, or soon after, the reign of king Richard I. The objection must therefore necessarily vanish. And well it may; for his favourite, pope Gregory, to whom he would give the preference before our martyr, has weak pretensions, from history, to be the Patron of our nation, and much less for being related to the Order of the Garter; no one author, that I know of, ever giving the remotest insinuation either of the one or the other. As to the Patronage of the Order, he certainly can have nothing to do with that, unless we would do violence to all the truth of history; and his claim to the superintendency of the kingdom in general is equally nugatory and infirm. The similitude of the two names, George and Gregory; and the mistakes committed by transcribers concerning them, are articles too futile to be further insisted on; and his grand and best argument, from the conversion of the English Saxons, is at best but a specious manner of trifling; since, though Gregory, as the remote cause or instrument of sending Augustine hither, may in some sense be stiled *the Apostle of the English* [u]; yet St. Augustine was properly the person that converted the Saxons, and is much oftener stiled so, for that reason [w]; so that, by what I can judge, this monk, if you put the matter on the

[u] Wilkins, Concil. I. p. 343. 377. Hickes's Thes. III. p. 11. 33. alibi.

[w] By the Pope himself in Eadmerus, p. 100. Wilkins Concil. p. 328. Ingulphus, p. 11. Richard of Cirencester, p. 17. Archbishop Radulph in Wilkins Concil. I. p. 398. to omit the Moderns, bishop Godwyn, Mr. Lambard, Mr. Somner, Dr. Heylin, &c.

footing of conversion, has a much fairer claim to be esteemed the Patron of the English, and to rank with St. Andrew of Scotland, St. Patrick of Ireland, and the other Saints-Converters, than St. Gregory. Let us just observe, how matters went at Canterbury, in respect to the two prelates, St. Augustine and St. Gregory; St. Augustine had a sumptuous abbey erected there very soon, which presently took his name; whereas but little notice was taken of St. Gregory there, till after the Norman conquest; when archbishop Lanfranc, a mighty friend to the papacy, was pleased to found an house of secular priests in honour of him [x], and to aggrandize his festival [y]; whence it should seem, that St. Augustine had much the best title, on the plea of religion and conversion, in the eye of our forefathers, to the Patronage of England. Mr. Salmon's bishop of Ostia has a fairer pretence than either St. Gregory or St. Augustine [z].

I THINK it not unlikely, that many people will be inclined to call Mr. Byrom's conjecture, concerning the Patron of the Order of the Garter, *very acute and ingenious*; but, I confess, I cannot dignify it with those flattering epithets, when I find it to be so chimerical, so destitute of all rational support; and yet it was intended to overturn a fact more firmly established, perhaps, than most other historical passages are. For let it be considered, that, on the opposite side of the question, St. George has been reputed the military Patron of England ever since the Institution of the Order of the Garter, and long before; and that, without any manner of scruple, until this gentleman arose

[x] Tanner, Notit. p. 210. or Somner's Antiq. of Canterbury, p. 48. and Battely's Cantuaria Sacra, p. 164.

[y] Wilkins, Concil. I. p. 343.

[z] Tho. Salmon's new historical Account of St. George, p. 51. 106.

to dispute his title. St. George is apparently a different person from St. Gregory, for his anniversary is kept at a different time; an observation, which I esteem of great consequence in the case, as there are scarcely any surer marks or evidence of ancient facts than the celebration of festivals in remembrance of them; and St. George's day, the 23d of April, was the feast day of the Order of the Garter at Windsor, at the first erection of it [a]; which, as Dr. Heylin tells us, was upon that very day [b]. The chapel at Windsor again is dedicated to St. George, and not to St. Gregory; and was consecrated to him, in conjunction with St. Mary, by Edward the Third himself, as Froissart [c], Leland [d], and Camden [e], all tell us. Can there be any stronger evidence of a past transaction, than the observance of an holyday, and the erection of a building, as memorials of it? I shall therefore take upon me to say, that St. George *must* be the Patron of the Order of the Garter, and that there can be *no error or mistake* in it, notwithstanding the whims and crotchets of such visionary men; since it is impossible to assign any reason otherwise, why St. George's day should be pitched upon for the annual festival of the Order, and the chapel at Windsor consecrated to his memory, by the founder of the

[a] Froissart, chap. 100. Selden, §. 41. Ashmole, p. 186. 467. The feast was afterwards prorogued to different times. Hist. of the Order, chap. xviii. xix.

[b] Heylin, p. 321.

[c] Froissart, chap. 100. This was a contemporary author. And though John Le Bel was the author of this part of the Chronicle which goes under the name of Froissart, before the battle of Poitiers, as Mr. Oldys says, Brit. Librarian, p. 69. and M. Palaye, Mem. de l'Acad. des. Insc. tom. xx. p. 316. 12mo. it amounts to the same thing, as Le Bel was a contemporary historian; and Froissart, as Mr. Oldys suggests, p. 71, here and there corrected or augmented Le Bel's performance. I thought proper to notice this, to avoid cavil.

[d] Ad. Cygn. Cant. p. 98 of ixth vol. of Hearne's Edition of his Itinerary.

[e] Britan. col. 171.

Order himself, at the very time, as Froissart says, when he created it. Hence the Order itself is properly called the Order of St. George, by some others; though it is more commonly named from the Garter [f]; and hence the charter of Institution [g]. Geoffrey Chaucer [b], and all authors since his time, I speak it in general, stile him the Patron of it.

I ASSUME, upon the whole, that whether St. George be a real, or only an imaginary Saint, as Dr. Pettingal and others would have him, he, and not St. Gregory, was undoubtedly understood at the time of the institution, as likewise ever since, to be the Patron of the Order of the Garter.

Whittington, July 20, 1773.

SAMUEL PEGGE.

[f] Selden, § 41. Heylin, p. 322. The Charter of Institution in the same author, p. 332. where see more.

[g] Heylin, p. 331.

[b] Chaucer's Address to the King, Lords, and Knights, after the Contents, in Mr. Urry's edition.

II. *An Account of some Remains of Roman and other Antiquities in Monmouthshire. Addressed to the President, Council, and Fellows, of the Society of Antiquaries, by John Strange, Esq.*

————— *Nec desinat unquam*
Tecum Graia loqui, tecum Romana vetustas.

CLAUDIAN.

Read May 11, 1775.

FROM Brecknock I proceed to Abergavenny chiefly along the vale of Usk, through which the twelfth *iter* of Antoninus is supposed to have passed. As there were several Roman stations along, or near, this valley, as *Gobannium*, *Burrum*, *Isca*, or *Caerleon*, according to Camden, and *Venta Silurum*, now *Caerwent*, Monmouthshire has constantly engaged the attention of curious inquirers, and has already afforded [a] very considerable and interesting remains of Roman Antiquities. But as some particulars have, notwithstanding, passed unnoticed, and others have not been faithfully represented, I

[a] Camden's *Britannia*, second edition, in Monmouthshire; and Horsley's *Britannia Romana*.

I shall submit to the judgement of this learned Society such observations as occurred to me in my researches through this county.

IN the last paper [b], which I had the honour to present to the Society, on the subject of my observations in Brecknockshire, I gave an account of a stone, with an inscription [c], engraved upon it, seemingly of the lower Roman times, and which I observed in a field belonging to Mr. John Powell of Llangenny, about a mile north-east of Crickhowel, near the road leading from Brecknock to Abergavenny. Several British remains are also observeable in that neighbourhood. In the same ploughed field with the stone just mentioned, are two *corneddau*, or heaps of large stones piled up together; and at a little distance from them, in a neighbouring farm, are two or three of those single stones of uncommon bulk fixed erect in the ground. On the right hand, entering Crickhowel, is an old Gothic gateway, and wall of a monastery, and on an eminence at the south-side of the town are likewise some remains of an old castle.

THOUGH I made some stay at Abergavenny, yet I did not observe any certain marks of Roman antiquities in, or near, the place. If there be any remains of the supposed Roman *balneum*, or sudatory, near the castle, mentioned by Horsley [d], they are too inconsiderable to be pronounced with certainty a Roman work. There is however great reason to adopt the received opinion, that the ancient *Gobannium* was situated in this part of the vale of Usk; since not only gold, silver, and brass Roman coins have been frequently found here; but also

[b] See vol. IV. art. 1.

[c] Ib. p. 19. Pl. II. 2.

[d] Brit. Rom. p. 463.

Roman bricks, stamp *LEG. II. AVG.* like those found at the *Gaer* near Brecknock, at Caerleon, and other places. Besides, the distance of *Usk*, or *Burrium* of Antoninus, as marked in the Itinerary, agrees very well, being about twelve miles; and the situation of Abergavenny at the confluence of two rivers, the *Usk* and the *Gavenny*, added to the affinity of the name, seems to put it beyond a doubt. Every one knows how much the Romans coveted such situations, of which there are examples enough in all countries where they had any settlements. There are also but very few remains of the castle of Abergavenny, which, as Wynne [e] informs us, suffered, with many others, by *Maclyon* and *Rhys*, in the year 1233.

BEING disappointed in my researches after Roman antiquities at Abergavenny, I availed myself of the opportunity of my stay there to visit a very remarkable and isolated mountain, situated about two miles to the eastward of it, and called *St. Michael's Mount*; upon the top of which are the ruins of a famous Roman Catholic chapel. Before the Revolution this place was much frequented by Roman Catholics, who used to come thither, from all parts, in pilgrimage, and principally with the pious intention of fetching away some of the holy earth supposed to have been brought thither from Jerusalem. Though the chapel has been long since destroyed, there is nevertheless a piece of this holy ground walled round, which still continues to be annually visited, upon the festival of *St. Michael*, by the Roman Catholics of the neighbourhood, whose number is rather considerable. *Stukeley* [f] says, that they think this hill was sent thither by *St. Patrick* out of Ireland, and that it has wonderful efficacy in several cases.

[e] Hist. of Wales, p. 254.

[f] Itin. Cur. I. p. 67.

NOTWITHSTANDING the little success that equally attended my researches after Roman antiquities at Usk, there is still great reason to suppose, that a Roman station once stood upon the spot on which this town is built. Horsley [g] justly observes, that the situation, and shape of Usk, lying in squares, made it probable, that a Roman station occupied this spot, though no remains of it appear. Circumstances seem indeed to favour this opinion. For though I did not perceive any certain marks of Roman Antiquity above ground, yet some rectilinear swellings, or banks, which are easily discernable, though overgrown with bushes, or built upon, seem to indicate the remains of foundations of walls, or other buildings. It is in this manner only that some parts of the old walls of the neighbouring Roman stations at Caerleon and Caerwent are traced; though other considerable parts of those walls are still remaining above ground. My short stay, added to the extreme badness of the weather, did not afford me the opportunities I wished for at Usk; but I am much inclined to think that real discoveries might easily be made there, at least sufficient to determine positively the position of a Roman station on this spot, which is further rendered probable by so many circumstances. For, besides the reason already mentioned, and the convenient distance from Abergavenny to Usk, which, as I before observed, exactly corresponds with the distance between *Gobannium* and *Burrium*, as marked in the Itinerary, the confluence of the river *Byrdbin* with the Usk at this place is another strong argument for fixing a station here. Every one knows how much this kind of situation was particularly sought by the Romans, of which we have many examples, besides that of *Gobannium* just mentioned. In fact, wherever circumstances

[g] Ubi sup.

will

will permit, we constantly find the Roman stations covered by rivers; and it has been judiciously observed by Horsley [b], that, if we follow any military way, we are almost sure to meet with a station wherever we meet with a river at any remarkable distance from a preceding station. Hyginus also seems to consider this as a principal article; observing that *campi flumen habere debent in qualicunque positione* [c].

BUT although it seems a general persuasion among Antiquaries, that a Roman station formerly stood precisely in this part of the valley at Usk; yet they are not by any means agreed what particular station to fix there. The affinity of the names has determined some Antiquaries to place *Isca Silurum* of Ptolemy at Usk. Salmon [d] supports this opinion strongly, in opposition to Camden, who fixes *Isca* at Caerleon, and *Burrium* of Antoninus at Usk. Horsley also agrees with Camden in fixing *Burrium* at Usk; though, in his Essay on Ptolemy's Geography, he also thinks, that Usk may have been *Bullaeum* of Ptolemy. So that he seems determined, at all events, to have a Roman station there;

— *uno avulso non deficit aliter*
Aureus —

THE affinity of names has certainly often led Antiquaries into mistakes, in fixing the situations of old towns and camps; and Camden himself has been as liable to these mistakes as other Antiquaries. He was apt to strain a little for etymologies, like Leland and Baxter; and they are but too commonly the

[b] Britan. Roman. lib. iii. c. 2. p. 392.

[c] De Castrametatione.

[d] Survey of England, vol. ii. p. 714.

sport of closet Antiquaries in general. But they cannot be adopted too cautiously, since it is very well known, that many of the ancient names of Roman stations have no kind of resemblance with the names of the towns, or villages, which have succeeded them. Since therefore the authority of the *Itinerary* militates irresistibly in favor of *Burrium*, as I have before observed, this opinion, of the two, must surely appear the most acceptable. Nor are etymologies totally wanting to confirm it; since few, who require such kind of proofs, would scruple to allow a sufficient affinity between *Burrium* and the little river *Byrdbin*, which joins the river *Urk* immediately at this spot. And, to strengthen this opinion, it is also remarkable, that *Maridunum*, or *Muridunum*, the *Caput Demetarum*, now Caermarthen, was formerly called *Myrdbin*, by a parallel affinity. And that either rivers have been sometimes named after stations, or stations after rivers, which is most probable, is evident enough from other examples in our island. Thus *Segontium*, on the Frith Menai, in Caernarvonshire in North Wales, is supposed to have taken its name from the little river *Sejont*, or *Segont*; as *Deva*, Chester, may have been supposed to have done from the *Dee*. Burton [1] also observes, that there are plain vestiges of the name *Venta*, speaking of *Venta Icenorum*, near Norwich in the river *Wentsum*, or *Wentser*; and the same may be said of *Gobannium* and the *Gavenny* just mentioned. But in such cases it is most reasonable to conclude, that the station, or town, has been named after the river; since, in all countries, the leading objects of nature, as rivers, lakes, mountains, &c. not only receive their names very early, but commonly preserve the same, whatever civil revolutions happen to those countries. This is sufficiently confirmed by many such names,

[1] Anton. Itin. p. 228.

in different provinces of Europe, which are avowedly of the remotest antiquity, notwithstanding the changes which those provinces have undergone; which consideration, added to the many particular affinities observable in the vocabularies of almost all languages, however different, seems to favour very strongly the notion of the original or radical language, from which all others have been derived; whether that be the Celtick, as Leibnitz [m] imagines, or any other. Such a notion indeed is as consistent with sound reason as it appears to be with the monuments of Civil History. Nor does any opinion, concerning the genius of this language, appear more probable than that adopted by Leibnitz; since few etymologists are ignorant of the general affinity of the Celtick with every other known language, whether ancient or modern. The particular relation it has with the old British and German languages is well known; as well as the radical affinity which those languages have in common with many others. And however odd it may appear, yet it is very certain, that there is a manifest analogy between the present Welsh and the ancient Greek vocabularies, especially in the generical appellation of natural objects, as *eur*, *ὕδωρ*, *aqua*, &c. And Leland, if I mistake not, somewhere observes, that even the main body of the British, or Welsh, consists of Hebrew and Greek words. But to return from this digression to our local antiquities.

If we suppose that *Isca Silurum* took its name from the river Usk, as probably the town of Usk has since done, I see no reason why we may not place it any where else along the banks of that river, where there are visible marks of a Roman station, and no proofs against *Isca* in particular, as precisely at

[m] Nouveaux Essais sur l'entendement humain.

Ulk, where there seem to be much stronger proofs in favour of *Burrium*. It may not be amiss to observe here, that Baxter, in his Glossary [a], says, that *var is* signifies *super aqua*.

THE certain remains of Roman antiquities at Caerwent made me, however, ample amends for my disappointments at Abergavenny and Ulk; especially since little notice has hitherto been taken of these Remains. Before I undertook the tour of Wales, the late worthy President of this Society, the lord bishop of Carlisle, favoured me with the perusal of a manuscript, written by the late learned and ingenious Smart Lethueillier, esq. which gives an account of the maritime parts of Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire. His lordship also obligingly permitted me to extract from this account such minutes as I thought might be of use to me in the inquiries I proposed to make in those parts. Mr. Lethueillier takes notice of many very curious and interesting particulars, which have probably afforded entertainment and instruction to several members of this learned Society. But as he only passed through Caerwent, and did not pay any particular attention to the remains of Roman antiquities, his account of them is only general, and, in some respects, a little inaccurate. Since therefore these remains were the principal objects of my inquiries, it is hoped that my endeavours to give a better account of them will not appear superfluous. Previous to this account, it will not be amiss to consider briefly what has already been said upon this subject by other writers.

NOT only particular Stations but Provinces also have, in their turn, furnished matter of dispute to our Antiquaries. Baxter, if I mistake not, confines the *Silures* to the west of

[a] In voc. *VARIS*.

England, and principally to Cornwall, where Salmon [o] also fixes *Leucarum*, *Bovium*, and *Nidum*, which are three of the stations of the *Silures* marked in Antoninus's twelfth *iter*. Sammes [p], though of no irrefragable authority in similar matters, further observes, that the *Silures* were derived from *Silura*, an island off the Cornish coast. But the most respectable authorities place the *Silures* principally in South Wales and its confines Eastward; and those, who are of this opinion, willingly enough admit, from etymology chiefly, not from the marks of a station, though visible enough, that Caerwent must have been *Venta Silurum* of Ptolemy. The affinity of the names has here indeed a double force, from the addition of the word *Caer*, which, as I have before observed, commonly denotes a fort, or station; and Stukeley [q] remarks, though perhaps too generally, that all Roman towns, or stations, were called *Gae*, or *Caer*, in after-times, throughout the island. But, in other respects, the opinion of the etymologists, concerning the derivation of the word *Venta*, is by no means satisfactory; at least as far as it regards Caerwent in Monmouthshire. Leland, who, according to Burton [r], sought rather to devise handsome names for places, than diligently to tread the certain footsteps of antiquity, derives *Venta* from *Guin*, or *Gwyn*, which signifies *white*; in which opinion he is followed by Camden, who further adds, that the two *Ventas*, that is, *Venta Belgarum*, or Winchester, by some also called *Caergwent*, and *Venta Icenorum*, or Brancaster, near Norwich, stand on chalk; and Bur-

[o] Survey, vol. II.

[p] Britan. p. 118.

[q] Itin. Cur. I. p. 114.

[r] Anton. Itin. p. 51.

ton [s] affirms that all the *Ventas* do the same. But however admissible this derivation may be with respect to the two stations just mentioned, it does not by any means hold good in regard to *Venta Silurum*, or *Caerwent*, in Monmouthshire, where no chalk is to be seen. Nor do I recollect to have observed it in any other parts of this county; nor any where throughout the principality of Wales; nor in the other countries immediately Westward of the Severn; unless limestone is here to be understood, from being of a similar calcareous quality; though this hardly holds good; since the etymology in question more particularly respects its *white* colour, and the limestone throughout Wales and the adjacent country is mostly blue. The chalk-hills, which so remarkably characterize our island, cross it nearly from North-East to South-West, forming, as it were, a diagonal line from the coasts of Suffolk and Norfolk to that of the British channel; in which line they also engross considerable parts of the counties of Essex, Cambridge, Bedford, Hertford, Buckingham, Oxford, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Hampshire, Sussex, Surry, and Kent. I have traced the continuance of this chain, on the other side of the channel, through a part of France. It is also observable, that most of the ancient inscriptions and remains, that have any relation to this natural production, respect the countries just mentioned. Hence the doggrel verse relative to *Sarbiadunum*, or old *Sarum*,

Est ibi defectus lymphæ, sed copia cretæ.

Chalk is even supposed to have been formerly exported from hence for manure, immense pits being still seen [t]. It is well

[s] As before, p. 218.

[t] Musgrave Antiq. Britan. tom. I. p. 163.

known that the *Ars Cretaria* was in great repute in Britain during the Roman times, under the sanction of the *Dea Nebalennia*; as we more particularly learn from the votive inscription, of one *Silvanus Negotiator Cretarius Brittannicianus*, engraved on an altar found at Domburg in Zeeland [u]. We need not therefore be surprised to find Roman stations named from thence; as *Calcaria*, near Tadcaster in Yorkshire, supposed by Gale [w] to have been so named a *calce*. Here indeed the etymology seems too evident to be questioned, supposing, however, that it corresponds with the physical topography of that country, of which I cannot pretend to speak, having never visited those parts. This husbandly practice of chalking their lands appears to have been as prevalent with the ancients as it now is with us. Varro [x], speaking of Gallia Transalpina, expressly says, *Agros stercoreant candida fossicia creta*; by which he clearly means pit-chalk, in distinction from burnt lime. Ulpian [y] says, that criminals were condemned to the chalk works. Reinesius, speaking of the altars dug up at Domburg, further adds, that many of them have their inscriptions cut in *lapide albo, cretae nec colore, nec materia nec fragilitate admodum dissimili*. The chalk of our Chiltern-hills is often found to concrete and form such a kind of stone; which also commonly is rather of inferior quality. I remember to have observed such in some old walls and other buildings at Cambridge, and suppose it to have been brought from the neighbouring hills to the Southward, called

[u] Reinesii Syntag. p. 190.—Mensong. Altung. Notit. Germ. Infer. p. 161. Keyser Antiq. Sept. p. 246.

[w] Anton. Itin. It. 2. p. 42.

[x] De Re Rust. lib. 1. cap. 7.

[y] De Paen. Leg. 48. hence also *Calcarientes* in Cod. Theod. De Decurionibus, Leg. 27.

Gogmagog hills. This stone, if it may be styled so, is however of a very mouldering nature, though curious enough on account of the fossil marine bodies contained in it; especially small *anomiae* of various species, as well striated as smooth, which I have often picked from the stones of the old walls. A similar kind of soft chalk-stone is also common to the Chiltern-hills of France; particularly about Chalons sur Marne in the province of Burgundy, where it is used in plenty [2]. Our chalk-hills near Dunstable in Bedfordshire, afford a stone of the better sort; but which is, however, still inferior to the true freestone of the isle of Portland, &c.—But to return to our etymologies.

STUKELEY also observes, that *Venta* signifies *chalk*, and, if I mistake not, follows Camden's opinion as to the reason of this etymology. But as I have before shewn that this reason does not hold good with respect to Caerwent in Monmouthshire, we must either look for *Venta Silurum* elsewhere, adopt another adequate etymology for it, or neglect them all, should we find the proofs sufficient to establish *Venta Silurum* at Caerwent without them. Baxter and Salmon [a] derive *venta* from *wend*, or *vent*, *pen*, *caput*, head or chief city; in which case they seem to consider *Venta Silurum* as the capital of the *Silures*; and, in order to give the greater colour to this supposition, Salmon would intirely drop Caerleon out of the Itinerary, and would, as I suppose, continue the old road from Usk, which is the twelfth Iter of Antoninus, to Caerwent immediately, leaving the vale of Usk above, or short of Caerleon. But this opinion seems to be without foundation. For since Caerleon has all

[2] Voyages de Mich. de Montaigne, tom. I. p. 12.

[a] Survey, vol. II. p. 772.

the marks of a capital, and is directly situated in the vale of Usk, if the twelfth Iter of Antoninus led through that valley, as is pretty evident, it is natural to suppose, that it reached Caerleon, and did not leave the vale of Usk abruptly, and seems to have been, in a manner, dependent on it; more especially as Caerwent lay in another direction, and had different and direct roads leading to it, the remains of which are yet seen. Nor is it even probable, supposing the great road to have joined Caerleon, that a cross-road led to Caerwent, from the vale of Usk, between *Burrium* or Usk, and Caerleon; not only from the supposed dependence of Caerwent on Caerleon, which I shall hereafter consider, and their respective proximity, being distant only two or three miles asunder; but also on account of the very inconvenient course that such a road must have taken, from the vale of Usk, up the side of a steep hill, on the top of which Caerwent is situated. Further, it is certain that another great Roman road passed through Caerwent, in a direction nearly East and West; and this road, which was, in all probability, the *Strata Julia*, must necessarily, from the course of the country, have joined that from Caerleon somewhere in this neighbourhood, and probably at Caerleon itself, or Newport, which is very near it, and where the *Strata Julia* is also supposed [b] to have passed. Besides, Caerleon has always been given to Antoninus's twelfth Iter, and *Venta Silurum* to the fourteenth; and though these roads must have united at or near Caerleon, yet they had totally different directions; the former, as I have before observed, leading North and South, and the *Strata Julia* in the contrary direction, by Chepstow, and so beyond the Wye

[b] Camden's Britan. in Monmouthshire.

and.

and Severn towards Bath [c]. Salmon [d] again says, that as Caerleon, Caerwent, and Usk, or *Burrium*, were so near to each other, perhaps the second might have succeeded after Caerleon, which he further supposes might have been burnt, or destroyed, about the time of the Itinerary, and then the station might have been transferred to Caerwent. This is surely an extraordinary way of bringing matters to his own purpose, by supposing facts for which there is not the least foundation. And though Caerwent bears the marks of having been no inconsiderable station, yet there does not seem to be the least plea for making it the capital of the *Silures*, supposing even that it did not directly contradict Ptolemy, who gives it for *Bullaeum*, wherever that station was, which is rather uncertain [e]. Salmon seems to have been further influenced in his opinion from considering, that, in other times, during the Saxons, Caerwent, or Caergwent, not Monmouth, was the capital of the county, which was also thence called Wentset, or Wentland. But this circumstance is no proof of the equal importance of Caerwent in the time of the Romans, which is to be determined surely by other arguments. Upon the strength of etymology only these authors would, therefore, seem to give too much importance to *Venta Silurum*, in considering it certainly as the ancient capital of that province.

SUPPOSING, however, that etymologies are to be insisted on, why may we not apply *Pen* to *Venta* in another sense; I mean with respect to its situation, being on a high tract of ground, as the *Alpes Pennini*, or Pendle hill, in the North of England,

[c] Necham in Camden. loc. cit.

[d] Survey, vol. II. p. 715.

[e] Account of Brecknockshire. *Archæologia*, vol. IV. 25. See also I. 301. II. 10.

which commands the whole neighbouring country. For in this sense, *Venta* or *Caerwent* may equally, and with more justice, be said to be *Pen*, the head, or chief. Such appellations are commonly enough given to mountains, both generically, and in particular; as is evident from the Appennines in Italy, and the many *Pen y Van*'s, or *Van*'s in Wales, where that name is so often given to remarkable heights, as I have before observed [f]. And as this is the most received etymology for the Appennines, we have here again a strong instance of the similitude of expressions in different languages for the same common object of nature. And how far the physical topography of the country may have had an influence in fixing this etymology for *Venta*, is again seen in a similar etymology, which Gale, in his Commentary on Antoninus's Itinerary, assigns to the *Silures*, which he derives from *Selw*, *Britannice, quod est speculari, prospicere, unde Selwr, Speculator*; further observing, *quod nomen hoc illis impositum fuit a Britannis illis aliis qui loca magis campestris habitabant ad radices montium Cambrensis, qui se inter Silures hos primum ostendunt, et sunt ad speculandum natura quasi comparati*. Thus also in the ancient *Mona*, or the isle of Anglesey, there is a hill called *Tyn-Sylvy*, that is, *Mons Speculatorius*, or the hill of observation. And that this interpretation of the etymology from *Pen*, as applied to *Venta Silurum*, or *Caerwent*, is particularly suitable, appears evident, not only from its situation, which commands *Caerleon*, the vale of *Usk*, and the neighbouring country, but as it is the highest Roman station known to me in the supposed district of the ancient *Silures*, or even throughout the principality.

BUT, to end these uncertain inquiries about etymologies, it is manifest, that although *Caerwent* can hardly be considered as

[f] Account of Brecknockshire. Archaeologia, vol. IV. p. 24.
having

having been the capital of the *Silures*, yet it certainly was a Roman station of note, and the remains of Roman antiquity still seen there, though hitherto little regarded, are by no means inconsiderable. I shall now proceed to give some account of these remains.

THE Roman station at Caerwent is situated, as I have before observed, upon an eminence. This is formed by an extent of high ground, which rises gradually from Chepstow, and continues, nearly in a Western direction, towards Newport, between the coast of the Severn sea, and the vale of Usk. It is terminated by a high brow at Christ Church a little beyond Caerwent, in the same direction, from whence is seen a most beautiful and extensive prospect over the vale of Usk, and the Glamorganshire and Brecknockshire hills. The Roman camp precisely occupies the highest part of this tract, and is distant about five miles from Chepstow, in the road to Newport and Caerleon. This road, which in great measure, especially near Caerwent, is on the old Roman cautiway, crosses the camp exactly at right angles, dividing it longitudinally into two equal parts, which gradually fall off, or decline, to the South, and North, on each side, from a sort of *dorsum elatum*, or ridge, as it were, in the middle, on which the road lies. No situation therefore could be more advantageous, or agreeable to the rules laid down by the best writers for the choice of camps. Hyginus, in his treatise [g], expressly says, *primum locum habent castra quae ex campo in eminentiam leniter attolluntur*. The old Roman road, which led to the camp, was probably the *Strata*, or *via Julia*, which Camden, in his account of Monmouthshire, supposes to have taken its name from *Julius Frontinus*,

[g] De Castrametatione.

who

who probably made it. Was there any foundation for the vulgar opinion, to which Stowe, in his Annals, also adheres, and which supposes Julius Caesar to have built the castle of Chepstow, upon his conquering Britain, a more respectable derivation might be adopted for the name of this road. I must observe, that the church, and village of Caerwent, which consists only of a few straggling houses, are built along the sides of this road, within the walls, and near the centre of the camp; and mostly of the stones collected from the old ruins. The author of the essay concerning the four great Roman ways [b], says, that the Ikineld way crossed the Severn to Caerwent, and thence to *Muridunum*, or Caermarthen, taking in that branch of Antoninus's Itinerary that leads from *Muridunum*, through *Leucarum*, *Nidum*, and *Bovium*, to *Isca Legionis secundae Augustae*, or Caerleon; in which case the *Strata Julia* just mentioned must either have been a part of it, or some other road. Lambard thinks, that the Ermin-street led from Southampton round to St. David's in Wales; and the anonymous author of the history of Alchester and Burcester brings it likewise from St. David's. The Monk of Chester gives the Ikineld-street the same course, from St. David's to Tinmouth; so that Roman roads do not seem to have been less frequent here than in other parts of our island. *Gyraldus Cambrensis* [i] also mentions a *Strata Marcella*, not far from the *Strata Julia* in Monmouthshire, which Burton [k] supposes to have been named from *Ulpus Marcellus*, who came into this country soon after *Frontinus*. In my account of Brecknockshire, I mentioned the fragment of a Roman inscription, of which the characters

[b] Leland's Itinerary, vol. VI.

[i] Itin. Cambr. lib. i. cap. 5.

[k] Anton. kin. p. 96.

MARC are very discernable, and might perhaps refer to this *Ulpus Marcellus*. The stone, on which this inscription is engraved, and which, as I am informed, is now at Neath, was found on the confines of Brecknockshire with Glamorganshire, near *Mynidd Hir*, or the long mountain, at the end of the Roman causeway, which leads from that mountain northwards to the little valley of *Capel Coelbryn*. As it does not appear to what particular road this considerable and well-preserved fragment of a Roman causeway belonged; it either may have been a side branch of the *Strata Julia* leading directly over the mountains into Brecknockshire; or, if Gyraldus's *Strata Marcella* joined Brecknockshire, it may have been a part of that road, which led this way from Glamorganshire; in which case it would account for the fragment of the before-mentioned inscription. But all this is conjecture; only, upon the whole, it seems very evident, that, however ignorant we may be about the origin, and intent, of this, or any other of these roads, in this unexplored country; yet their frequency, and various directions, are rather strong proofs that the Romans had much more practice in these parts, westward of the vale of Severn, than has been hitherto imagined. Mr. Lethuillier observes, that the Roman road at Caerwent appears broad and plain for some way out of the western camp; but there are also parts of it remaining to the East of Caerwent, especially near *Creek*, a small village at a little distance from it, on the Chepstow road. There seems to be also some remains of foundations of buildings at the eastern entrance of the camp, which I shall now more particularly describe.

THE spot, on which it is situated, besides its elevation, has the vale of Usk to the North, and to the South an extent of narrow bottom, where runs the small river *Throggy*, which rises into

into the hills of Caldicot hundred, and empties itself into the Severn a little below the New Ferry. This camp is not therefore situated precisely on the banks of that river, as Gale [l] imagined. As to the intent of it, so near Caerleon, which was the chief station of a legion, as the name implies, opinions may vary. Salmon [m] says, that where camps stand thick they were more for *æstiva*, or for exercising of soldiers, than for use. But although it be probable, from the situation and neighbourhood of Caerwent, that the Roman station there was, in some shape, dependent on that of Caerleon, yet this dependence seems to have been of a more important nature. It is well known that the Roman stations, though often at a considerable distance from each other in the midland provinces, were yet commonly more frequent, and, of course, nearer together, towards the coasts; as is observeable in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Kent, which were exposed to the Saxon shore. Nor is it at all surprising, that they should also be thicker on this side of Wales, towards the coast of the Severn-sea, and near the passes of the rivers Wye and Severn, in order to command the passage over them, and consequently a communication with the neighbouring and more important provinces of the island. Dr. Hollaud, in his notes upon Sudbroke [n], near Caerwent, mentions also a Roman fortress half destroyed by the sea, which had a triple rampire, and ditch, as high as an ordinary house, in form of a bow, the string whereof was the sea cliff. The coins and bricks, he saith, prove it Roman. He mentions an uncommon coin to have been shewn him by the bishop of Landaff, with an inscription on one side, in Greek letters,

[l] Anton. Itin. p. 131.

[m] Survey, vol. II. p. 864.

[n] Salmon as before, p. 721.

signifying *Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax*; and on the reverse, a horseman with a trophy erected before him. To confess the truth, I was not aware of this Roman maritime fortress, when upon my tour; and therefore lost the opportunity of visiting its remains. We moreover know that the Romans had often *castella* in the neighbourhood of their cities, like our modern castles; or exploratory camps, as Burrow is supposed to have been to Leicester, Castor to *Garionenum*, or Yarmouth, &c. Such camps seem also to have been greatly in use with the Romans in mountainous countries, as I have particularly observed in Switzerland. A similar camp of speculation, situated on the summit of a high, isolated, and adjacent hill, secured the famous *Aventicum*, now *Avanches*, in the canton of Bern, which was the principal station the Romans had in those parts. Caerwent might therefore, in like manner, probably have served as an exploratory camp to Caerleon, and contained perhaps a detachment of the second Augustan legion, whose head-quarters were fixed at Caerleon, as I have before observed. In fact, no situation could be more advantageous, or better calculated to cover Caerleon, which was about two miles distant from it, in the vale of Usk beneath. Besides, as the twelfth Iter of Antoninus, with its stations, was, in all probability, mostly confined to this valley; and as a considerable tract of high ground extended from thence towards Chepstow and the Severn sea; such a station as that at Caerwent was of great importance, not only to cover Caerleon and the vale of Usk, through which the main road led, but also to command the country to the South-East, and a communication over the rivers, as I before observed. Nor does the whole tract between Caerleon and Chepstow afford so eligible a post, for all these purposes, as the spot which the Romans fixed upon at Caerwent. But since it was
esteemed

esteemed among the ancients, as well Greeks as Romans, one of the highest merits of a general to know how to fix a camp; we need not wonder if we so often find their situations incomparable. Commendations of this quality in their generals continually occur in the ancient writers; and Livy somewhere expressly says, that the army was never contented with the camp, *nisi alter eo non posset melior inveniri*. There was, however, a great difference between the spots chosen by these two different nations for their camps, as well as between the camps themselves. The Greeks commonly fixed on high situations. The Romans, on the contrary, generally preferred the plain, for the convenience of rivers principally, as was before observed. Besides, their confidence in the art of war made such kind of situations equally eligible to them; *loci magis subjecerunt sibi quam se locis* [e]. On the same account also they might be more indifferent, in regard to the natural advantages of situation, in an uncivilized country, where the art of war was little known. Elevation was however preferred, when necessity required it, as in the instance of the camp at Caerwent, and many others. The forms of the Grecian camps differed generally according to the spots chosen; whereas those of the Romans were mostly in the form of a common, or oblong square; and the latter of the two, which were called *tertiata castra*, from their measuring about a third more in length than width, were rather preferred [f]. In fact, most of the Roman camps *per lineam valli*, and elsewhere in our island, are of that oblong form; as are those of Caerwent and Caerleon, among

[e] Prolegomena de castris Hygini et Polybii, in Graev. Antiq. Rom. tom. 10. p. 1003.

[f] Pitisei Lex. in voc. CASTRA, Vegetius, &c. apud Graev. loc. cit. tom. 10. p. 1086 et seq.

the rest. Instances, however, are not wanting in our island of other different forms sometimes adopted by the Romans for their camps. For that on Borough-hill in Northamptonshire, which Camden took for a square, is oval, though equally Roman, notwithstanding some pretend that all the camps of this form are of Danish origin. The camp on Gogmagog-hill in Cambridgeshire is round; so is that of Yanesbury in Wiltshire; and both are acknowledged to be Roman. Gale says, that the Roman coins found about the latter are sure proofs; but such cannot be admitted, unless they are corroborated by others that are more decisive; since Roman coins are often, and perhaps most frequently, found, where there are no other marks of the Romans; and it is further very well known, that in Scotland, where Roman stations abound, they are less common than in any other parts. The difference of form sometimes observable in the Roman camps is also confirmed by Vegetius [q], who says, *interdum Romanorum castra fuisse quadrata, interdum trigona, interdum semicircularia, prout loci qualitas et necessitas postulaverit*. But notwithstanding the justice of this remark, and the examples by which it is confirmed, it is still very evident, that the form of the Roman camps in general was a common, or oblong square, as Pitiscus justly observes. It was, however, a very general custom with the Romans to round off the angles, or corners, of the walls of these camps, as is well known to those who are acquainted with the Roman stations in our island, and may be particularly observed in Horsley's account of those *per lineam valli*. It is equally observable of the more remote stations in our island; as, for instance, in that at Boffens in Cornwall described by Borlase [r]; those

[q] Apud Graev. loc. cit.

[r] Phil. Trans. vol. LI. tab. 1. fig. 8.

of Wales, &c. The angles of the camp at Caerwent are also rounded off in this manner; which circumstance, added to the ruinous state of the walls in some parts, has induced the people of the country in general to believe, that the form of this camp was oval. The practice of rounding off the corners is stiled by the writers on military architecture *circinatio angularum*; and the reason assigned for it by Hyginus [1] in particular is, *quia coxas efficiunt, instabiliuntque opus propugnatione tutari*. Vitruvius also disapproves of the angles of walls, *quia hostem magis tumentur quam civem*.

THE foundations of the Roman wall at Caerwent are yet easily traced on every side, and describe a parallelogram of about four hundred and fifty yards by three hundred and fifty; the longest sides pointing East and West. Both Lhwyd and Mr. Lethewillier assure us, that there are no remains of the wall but on the South side; and the latter further affirms, that only parts of the rubble within are to be seen on this side. But these accounts do not correspond with the state of facts, upon a more diligent inquiry. For, first, the most considerable remaining part of this wall is on the West side, on a spot, which, by being rather remote, and accidentally hidden from the road, easily escapes observation; though the wall here is many yards above the ground, for a great length, with the facing intire, in several places, to the height of fifteen or sixteen feet; forming by far the most considerable remnant of a Roman wall that presented itself to me throughout my tour. This wall rises from the bottom and inner side of a foss that surrounds it, agreeable to the rule laid down by Vitruvius [2], and indeed according to

[1] De Castrametatione, loc. cit.

[2] Archit. lib. i. cap. 5.

the common practice since. This foss seems to have surrounded the walls of Caerwent, and is very deep on the West and North sides, where the advantage of the ground is less favourable. Some parts of the facing of the South wall, and of the three bastions, or towers, mentioned by Lhwyd, are likewise yet intire, though unnoticed by Mr. Lethewillier. The form of these bastions is octangular, each side measuring about eight feet. The better half of them projects from the outside of the wall, according to Vitruvius's principle [u], and as is commonly observable in other Roman walls, in which they are introduced; nor would they indeed otherwise so well answer the purpose. The bastions appear of the same structure and date with the wall itself; they are built with the same stone, and those used for the facings in both are of the same dimensions, and correspond with the more perfect fragment on the West side before described. The stones used in the rubble of this wall are placed in a zigzag position, which I have also observed in other Roman walls. It was sometimes the custom of the Romans to place their stones in buildings edgewise, as is observable in the remains of *Durnovaria*, or Dorchester. This is very different from the modern notion, by which it is pretended, and perhaps not without some reason, that stones should be placed in the same direction, or position, in which they are observed to lie in the quarry. Vitruvius [x] remarks, that the walls of a fort should be wide enough for two combatants to pass each other with ease. This agrees very well with the width of those at Caerwent, which measure between seven and eight feet; in which circumstance, as well as in their structure, and the size of the stones

[u] Architect. lib. I. cap. 5.

[x] Loc. cit.

used in the facings, they nearly correspond with the Roman walls at Caerleon, at the *Gaer* near Brecknock, and at *Segontium*, near Caernarvon in North Wales. It is, however, well known, that the Roman walls were often much wider; those of *Durnovaria* just mentioned measure, for instance, twelve feet in thickness [y]. The walls of Caerwent are built partly with limestone, which is near the spot, and partly with a sort of grit, or sand stone, found on the Severn shore. The same materials have been used in the neighbouring castle of Caldicot. It is remarkable that the Romans preferred the use of free-stone to any other [z], though fetched far off, even when lime-stone has been at hand, of which there are several instances among the northern stations in our island. Salmon, though I know not upon what foundation, supposes the walls and bastions of Caerwent of a modern date, when Chepstow and Strigal castles were erected [a]. Leland also, whose inquiries, as far as they regard this country, are mostly confined to ecclesiastical antiquities, in his account of Caerwent, scarcely acknowledges any Roman remains, but supposes this village to have formerly been a place of considerable trade, upon the decline of which Chepstow rose. Few persons, as I should imagine, would be inclined to argue this matter from the situation of Caerwent, however admirably calculated for a Roman camp. Leland was probably led into his opinion from the appearance of the old walls, and other vestiges of Roman antiquity, which he did not rightly consider. He speaks in the same manner of *Urioconium*, or Wroxeter, in Shropshire, which he says was a goodly walled town until it was destroyed by the Danes [b].

[y] Stukeley Itin. Cur. p. 153.

[z] Vitruv. Arch. lib. ii. cap. 7. De lapidicinis, eorumque qualitatibus.

[a] Survey, vol. II. p. 718.

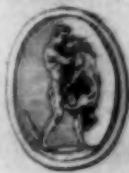
[b] Itinerary, vol. IV. p. 97.

WITHIN the walls of the camp at Caerwent I observed, at the distance of about a hundred yards from the Western entrance, some foundations of buildings, which appeared to be Roman; and in a kind of cellar, or out-house, in the middle of an orchard belonging to Mrs. Ann Williams, some very considerable remains of an old Roman Mosaic pavement. Three such pavements are said to have been discovered in a garden at Caerwent, in the year 1639; and that just mentioned is, I suppose, a part of one of them; which I was, however, surprized to find, since Lhwyd[c] affirms, that all those pavements were intirely destroyed. The pavement in question now lies about eighteen inches below the natural surface of the ground, in a direction pointing nearly East and West. A continuation of it extends beyond the East wall of the out-house which is built over it. Its Roman origin can scarcely, I imagine, be disputed; and since these valuable remains are daily exposed to farther ruins, from the ordinary uses to which the building over them is applied, the annexed representation [d] of them may serve to preserve their present state, however imperfect, from oblivion. I must acknowledge myself obliged to Mr. Hay of Brecknock, for the original drawing from which this plate was engraved. The design of the pavement seems to have been very regular and elegant. Parts of the figures of a vase and bird are still seen; and the Reverend Mr. Thomas, curate of Caerwent, assured me, that he remembered the figures of a lion, a tiger, and a stag, which were very well represented. No design can exceed in elegance that of the scalloped border; nor do I recollect to have seen the like in

[c] Camden's Britannia, as before, p. 213.

[d] Plate I.

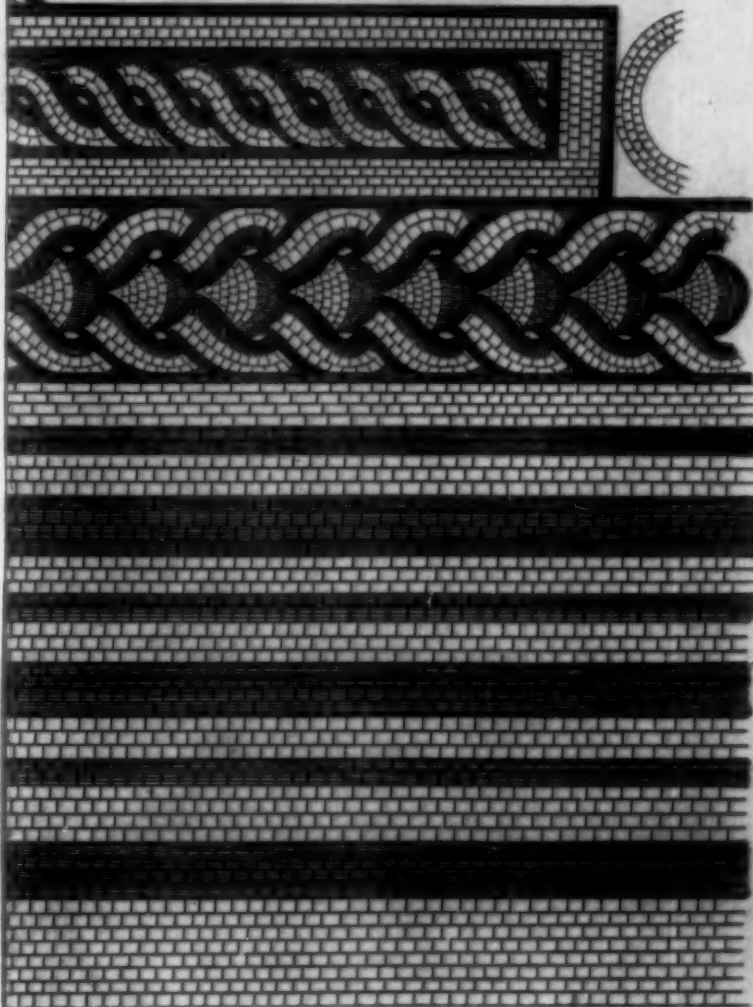
p. 71.

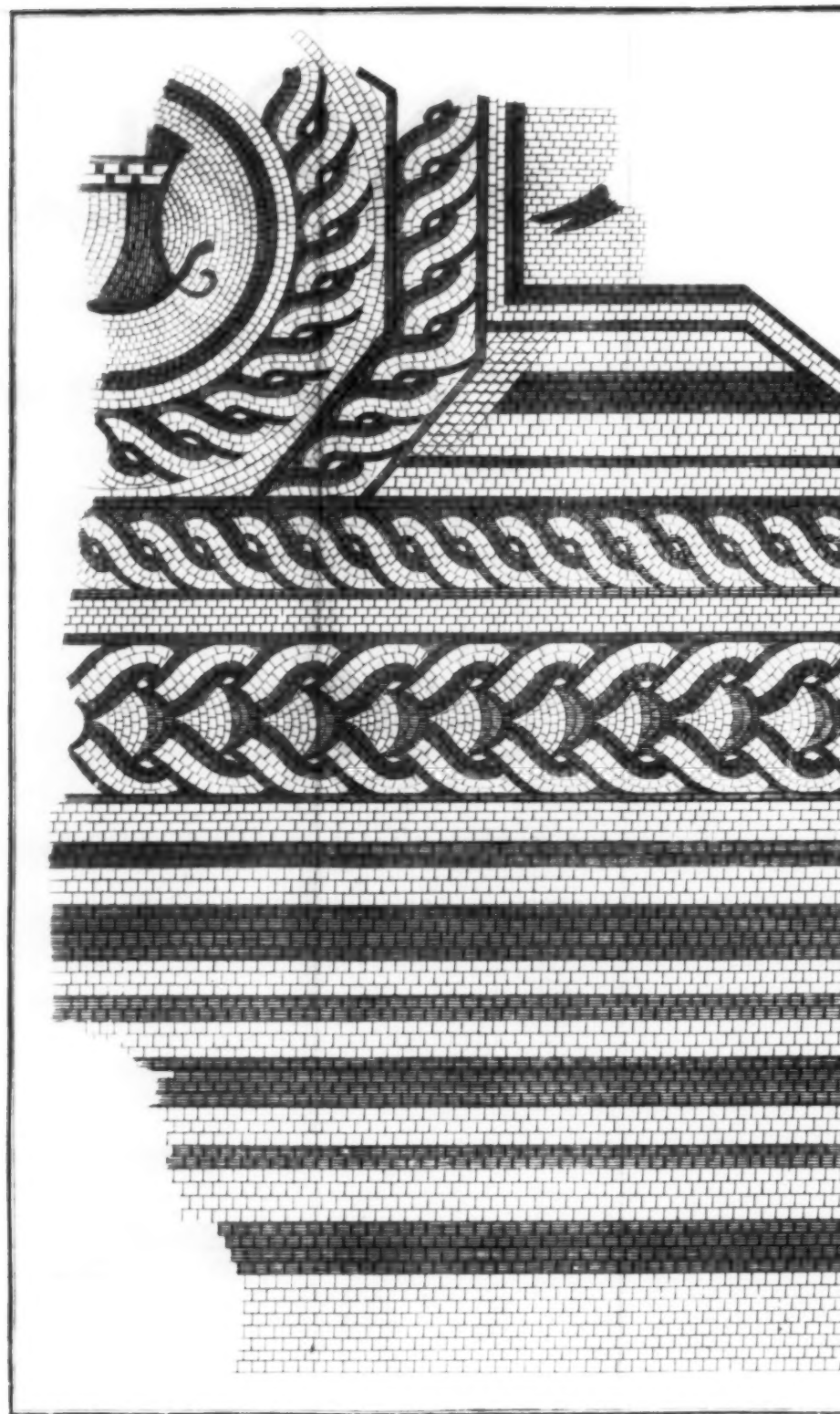


Size of the Image

Representation of the remains
of a
Roman Mosaic Pavement,
as
discovered in Monmouth-shire.

A Scale of Six Feet.





p. 71.

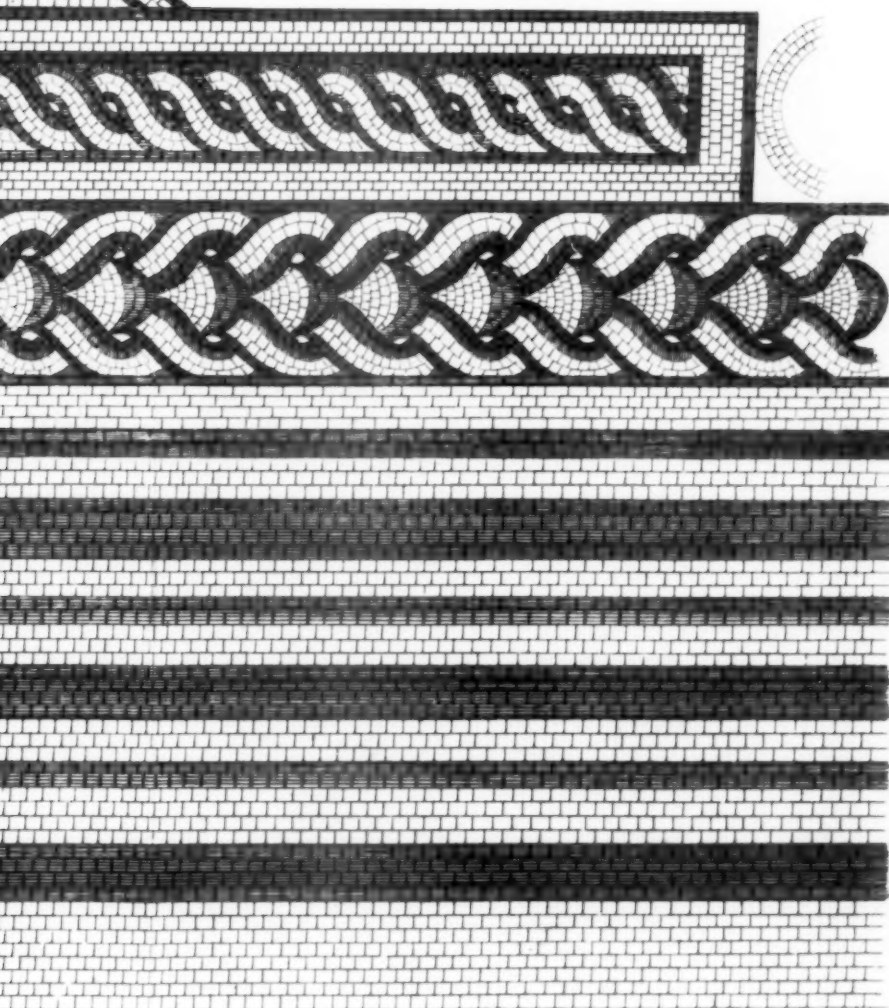


the size of the original

Representation of the remains
of a
Roman Mosaic Pavement,
AT
Caerwent in Monmouthshire.



A Scale of Six Feet.



any other Roman Mosaic pavement, or other work; though I think it would make a very admirable ornament in stucco. The tesserae, which form this pavement, are cubes of about half an inch in diameter, and seem a kind of composition. They are inlaid in a white cement, and are of three different colours, viz. a dusky blue, a faint or light brick-coloured red, and a yellowish white; resembling those of the Mosaic pavement found near Bath, and described and figured by Musgrave [e]. The tesserae of the Roman pavements are sometimes found to be irregular; but such appear to have been afterwards marked by an instrument, in regular divisions, and then painted or varnished over. Of this kind was the Roman Mosaic pavement of Castor, Nether Hayford in Northamptonshire, which latter was discovered on the Watling-street in 1699 [f]. After the Roman conquests in Asia, it is well known, that they much ornamented the praetoria of their camps; for which purpose they used to carry the tesserae for their pavements with them. From this article of luxury, they also, in after-times, styled their villae, or country-houses, praetoria [g]. When we consider, that the Northern Roman gateway to the city Lindum, or Lincoln, called the Newport gate, though intire and one of the noblest remains of this sort in Britain, and compared by Stukeley [h] even to that of Forum Nervae at Rome; when we consider, I say, that no notice had been taken of it before the learned doctor's time, we need not be surpris'd that the more hidden remains of antiquity should escape observation; and Lhwyd may easily be excus'd for having overlooked the Roman

[e] Antiq. Britan. tom. III. p. 151. tab. 6.

[f] Morton's Northamptonshire.

[g] Senec. Epist. 55. Sueton. in vita Tiberii, cap. 39. et Jul. Caesar.

[h] Itin. Cur. I. p. 84.

pavement of Caerwent, considering the situation in which it lies. By this involuntary omission we, however, suffer some disappointment; since, according to Mr. Thomas's account, the pavement in question was, in all probability, considerably more perfect in Lhwyd's time. This author mentions that in the year 1693 many bricks marked ϵ were found at Caerwent [i]. Mr. Thomas also informed me, that, within his memory, four pedestals and seven capitals, with pieces of shafts of pillars, had been dug up, at different times, within the camp, and about a hundred yards Westward of the church tower. They were of different forms and sizes, but mostly plain, and of free-stone. The parish-church of Caerwent appears to be very antient, and to have been chiefly built with materials collected from the old Roman ruins, like the rest of the village, as I before observed.

THE orchard, in which the Mosaic pavement lies, has a very unequal surface, and, by its banks and hillocks, seems to manifest the foundations of old buildings. The existence of the Roman pavement renders it also more than probable that the *praetorium* occupied this spot; especially as it is nearly in the middle of the camp. I doubt not but that this orchard would, upon a proper research, afford further discoveries; and very probably also some remains of the other two Mosaic pavements mentioned by Lhwyd. Though I saw no remains of Roman inscriptions at Caerwent, yet Roman coins are frequently found there; and I collected many. They are mostly of Q. Severus, Pertinax, Gallienus, the Tetrici, Constantini, and Valentiniani; the latter of whose coins have also been found in plenty at Caerleon.

[i] Camden as before.

HAVING satisfied my curiosity at Caerwent, as far as circumstances would permit, I descended through the little valley of Throggy to Caldicot castle, of which there are very considerable remains, as may be seen in a good print of them engraved by Mr. Buck. This castle has the form of an irregular pentagon, two sides of which make up the half of a square. One of these sides, which forms the principal front to the South, has, in the centre, a double square gateway and portcullis, and a round tower at each end. The other side of the square, which fronts the West, has also a round tower at each end. The three remaining sides, which complete the pentagon, are nearly equal; but, instead of round, they have octagon towers at the ends. It should seem therefore that the different parts of this castle were built at different times. The vale of Throggy, in which this castle is situated, opens Southward to the Severn sea, at the distance of about two miles.

FROM hence I proceeded along the coast to Gold Cliff, a famous spot in the physical topography of this county. Gyraldus Cambrensis [k] says, that it was so called *eo quod aurei coloris saxa praeferat sole repercussa*. As the shore between the mouth of the Severn and this cliff is an extensive tract of low marshy flat, the singularity of a high rock rising abruptly from the extremity of it would alone have excited my curiosity, had I not been apprized of this particular in Gyraldus's account. The side of the cliff towards the sea is nearly perpendicular, and appears to be about a hundred feet high from the surface of the water. It consists of many strata of lime-stone, disposed nearly in a horizontal direction, and parallel to each other;

[k] Itin. Cambr.

immediately

immediately under which is seen a bed of a hard reddish brown grit, or sand-stone, full of yellow *micæ*, and which forms in appearance the base of the cliff. A considerable part of this bed continues from under the lime-stone rock along the shore; and the reflection of the rays of the sun, from its glittering micaceous surface, produces the effect mentioned by Gyraldus, and which the neighbouring peasants even at present consider as probable signs of a gold mine. From hence the name given to this remarkable headland seems to have derived its origin; in the same manner as I imagine the *Mont d'Or*, or golden mountain, near Lyons in France, and another, of the same name, a few leagues from Clermont, in the province of Auvergne, have been named, from the glittering *micæ* observable in an ordinary sort of granite of which those mountains are formed. Leland observes, that there was formerly a priory of Monks settled at Gold Cliff, whose lands, upon the suppression of monasteries, were given to Eton college. Not the least vestiges of any building, suitable to such a settlement, remain at present. I returned from Gold Cliff, by Llanwaren, through a low flat country, to Christ Church, where I crossed the brow of the hill, and, after a very steep and rugged descent for about half a mile, arrived at Caerleon.

THIS town is situated on the Northern bank of the Usk, and mostly within the walls of the old Roman camp. There is besides a small suburb on the South-side of the river, near the bridge, by which you enter the town. Caerleon was formerly a considerable thoroughfare, from the upper part of Monmouthshire, and the Eastern counties, into Glamorganshire, and the maritime parts of South Wales; but, since the establishment of the turnpike road from Chepstow to Newport, it has greatly declined. There is still, however, a small market weekly, and

a considerable fair once a-year. The author of the English Gazetteer says it is a genteel place, inhabited by families of distinction, and that it is situated on a hill. But in these circumstances he is rather mistaken; especially in the latter; modern Caerleon, as well as the old Roman camp, being confined to the plain. Wynne [1] informs us that this town was greatly wasted by Jorweth, upon his retaking it from king Henry in the year 1172. Notwithstanding which, considerable vestiges of the old Roman works still remained, as we particularly learn from Gyraldus Cambrensis. This learned author, though in general rather inattentive to the remains of Roman antiquities, in his tour of Wales, as I before observed, yet thought that those of Caerleon were too noted to be passed over in silence. From his account it appears, that, besides the wall of the Roman station and the buildings within them, a very considerable tract of the neighbouring plain and circumjacent hills, especially to the North-west, were covered with edifices. Many of the ruins of these buildings were probably visible in Gyraldus's time, though there are scarce any signs of them at present. I was however informed, that the husbandmen, in ploughing the hilly grounds to the North and West of Caerleon, at the distance of a mile, or even further, frequently discover broken fragments of buildings, &c. Leland, as usual, says little or nothing, of the Roman antiquities at this place, except that in digging there appeared certain paintings on stone; by which he means, as I suppose, some coloured Mosaic pavements, like those before-mentioned. Notwithstanding this, the extraordinary account given of Caerleon by Gyraldus Cambrensis seems sufficiently warranted by the inscriptions, and other monuments of antiquity, found there since his time, and

[1] *Loc. cit.*

published by Camden. This great antiquary seems indeed to have exhausted the most interesting part of the subject, for no inscription, as far as I could learn, has been found at Caerleon since his time; nor was it in my power, upon the strictest search and inquiry, to discover any thing of that kind in, or near, the place. I must therefore content myself with describing the present state of the ruins of old Caerleon, and, at the same time, shall give an account of some later discoveries since Camden's time; few, if any, additions having been made, to the treasure he left us, by Horsley or other writers. It may not be amiss first to premise some general observations respecting Caerleon.

THE name of this place sufficiently denotes it to have been the station of a legion. It also appears, from inscriptions, and other proofs, that this legion was the second Augustan. The bricks stamped *LEG. II. AVG.* so frequently found at Caerleon and the neighbouring stations, seem to put this opinion beyond a doubt. Such bricks have indeed been also found in the Northern parts of our island, particularly about Severus's wall. But this only argues a removal of the legion, and seems to render it probable that its troops assisted in building that wall; especially since it is nearly of the same width and fashion as the walls of Caerleon, Caerwent, and the other neighbouring stations, which may reasonably be supposed to have been formed by that legion. Horsley [m] has been very particular and exact in his account when this legion was first introduced into Britain, with its several removals; it is therefore unnecessary to repeat what he has said. The same author [n] also justly observes, that, in those places where the Romans kept garrison

[m] *Brit. Rom.* b. i. ch. 6. p. 78.

[n] *Ib.* b. ii. ch. 1. p. 181.

long and late, many inscriptions are commonly found. Caerleon has produced its share, though none have been found lately; and it is also further observable, that these inscriptions mention the better times of *Severus*, *Antoninus*, and *Geta*. Hence we need not be surprised to find some marks of the luxury of those times, in the baths, amphitheatre, &c. mentioned by *Gyraldus Cambrensis* [p], and of which there are still manifest vestiges, as I shall have occasion to observe hereafter. Such marks are surely indisputable proofs of the importance of Old Caerleon, and of the long and quiet settlement of the Romans there. They are also fully sufficient to give Caerleon the pre-eminence above the other Roman stations in these parts, and to invalidate intirely the opinion of its subordination, so unaccountably adopted by *Salmon* [q], who supposes it to have been a sort of colony from *Usk* and *Caerwent*. It is further remarkable, that *Alexander Eusebicus*, a very scarce author, says, that, about the time of the Saxon Conquest, there were two hundred philosophers at Caerleon; which circumstance, though it speaks in favour of the populousness of the place at that time, yet does not seem calculated to give us an extraordinary idea of their philosophers; men, that merit such a name, having ever been scarce enough, even in the most civilized nations and ages. Caerleon, as well as its neighbouring station *Isca*, or *Usk*, has been much disputed by many writers. Among others, *Bale* [r] seems to confound it with *Deva*, or *Chester*, as *Burton* [s] has already observed. But it is time to end these general remarks, and to proceed to some account of the present remains

[p] Itin. Cambr. cap. 5.

[q] Survey, p. 719.

[r] Script. Brit. cent. i. cap. 47.

[s] Anton. Itin. p. 129.

of Roman antiquity at Caerleon, which I shall begin by a description of the old walls.

THOUGH the remains of these walls above ground are rather inconsiderable, yet the foundations of them still exist in many places; and though they are frequently covered, particularly on the North-east side, by modern buildings, yet a diligent observer will find sufficient traces of them to enable him to ascertain the form, and nearly the size, of the Roman camp at Caerleon. Upon the nearest guess I could make, on a partial measurement, this wall appears to have described a parallelogram of about 530 yards by 460, the longest sides pointing nearly South-east. As this spot was chosen for the headquarters of a legion, we need not be surprised to find the camp here considerably larger than any other in Wales. It has been before observed, that the angles of the wall are rounded off, like those at Caerwent. Gyraldus Cambrensis was, however, mistaken in asserting that this wall was built with brick, *coctilibus muris*, as he expresses it; since, on the contrary, the same sort of stone is used in it, and exactly in the same manner, as in the wall at Caerwent before described; only there is more lime-stone in the former, the grit lying at a greater distance from Caerleon. As the wall of the neighbouring camp at Caerwent, and the other Roman walls throughout Wales, were built with stone, which abounds every where; it would have been very extraordinary to have found that at Caerleon only built with brick. The greatest part of the North-east and South-east sides of this wall have been destroyed, and the materials used in modern buildings; but considerable parts of it, to the North-west and South-west, are yet remaining several feet above the ground, with their facings, in some places, entire, particularly on the South-west side, near the bottom of a garden belonging to Mr. Morgan, attorney

attorney at Caerleon. This gentleman informed me, that the better preservation of these sides is chiefly owing to the care of the family who own the ground, and who would never suffer any wanton demolitions of these venerable remains, nor buildings to be erected near them. A part of the South-west wall was, however, pulled down, to make way for a wooden parapet, at the bottom of Mr. Morgan's garden; before which time it continued, uninterruptedly, for a considerable length, with the facings entire to the height of five or six feet. The squared stones used in these facings are nearly of the same dimensions with those at Caerwent, and at the *Gaer* near Brecknock.

In an adjacent field, without Mr. Morgan's garden, is the hollow circular spot, known at Caerleon by the name of *Arthur's Round Table*, which is generally supposed to be a Roman work, and to have served by way of amphitheatre. In this case it must be considered as one of the Castrenian kind, like that at Richborough castle, not far from Sandwich in Kent, and many others. Stukeley [1] mentions one at Silchester, and another three miles from Redruth in Cornwall. Probably the round entrenchment between Perith and Shap in Westmoreland, described by Salmon [u], and compared by him to a cockpit, or wrestling ring, is of the same kind. It also goes by the name of *Arthur's Round Table*, as does that on the castle-wall at Winchester. Such temporary amphitheatres were probably the only ones used by the Romans in the distant provinces; since their more pompous edifices of this kind seem to have been confined to Italy, France, Spain, the coasts of the Adriatic, and the neighbouring province of Helvetia, &c. Lipsius has given us a list of such of these superb buildings, of which there are

[1] *Iter Curiosum*, I. p. 156.

[u] *Survey*, p. 637. Pennant, *Tour* 1769, p. 256. pl. 19. Stukeley II. 43. pl. 84. Gibson's *Camden Brit.*

any remains, in his learned book *De amphitheatris extra Romam*. But it seems rather extraordinary, that in the preceding treatise *De amphitheatro*, where he particularly treats of the origin and nature of the Roman amphitheatres in general, he should entirely omit even to mention those of the Castrenſian kind; eſpecially ſince there is great reaſon to ſuppoſe, that, in their firſt origin, other amphitheatres alſo reſembled them. For it is well known that the Romans originally ſtood at games [w], till luxury introduced ſitting; and it is obſervable, that the Caſtrenſian amphitheatres in general preſerve no ſigns of *ſubſellia*, or ſeats; ſo that the people muſt have ſtood on the graſſy declivity. I ſaw no ſigns of ſeats in that of Caerleon, nor in the more perfect one near Dorcheſter, as Stukeley [x] has alſo obſerved. Nor do I recollect that any ſuch have been diſcovered in any other Caſtrenſian amphitheatre, at leaſt in our iſland, where they ſeem to have been rather numerous. For, conſidering the frequency and importance of the Roman ſtations with us, and the nature of ſuch amphitheatres, which are eaſily hidden or diſfigured, it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that there were many more of them in Britain than what are known to us at preſent, though the number of the latter is by no means inconfiderable. The learned author, whom I have juſt quoted, rightly obſerves, *Si aedificium aut publici operis ullum genus crebrum in Italia et provinciis fuit, reperies hoc fuiſſe quod ad ludos ſpectat*; and further, *audeo adfirmare, raram aliquam ſive coloniam ſive municipium fuiſſe, in quavis non et ludi iſti et ludorum ſimul ſedes*. It is alſo reaſonable to imagine that the firſt uſe of ſeats was in theſe campeſtral or turfy amphitheatres. Ovid, in his poetical rhapsody *de Arte Amandi*, expreſſly ſays,

[w] Cic. de Amicitia, cap. 7. Tacit. Annal. 14. 20. Valer. Max. 11. 4.

[x] It. Cur. I. p. 166.

In gradibus sedet populus de cespite sacris.

It is also further probable, that the appellation *cavea*, which was often applied to amphitheatres in general [y], may have been originally derived from the simple form of these primitive ones dug on the turf. Though the others of a superior class were commonly superstructures built with brick, hewn stone, or marble; yet Lipsius[z] describes a very remarkable Roman amphitheatre at *Doué*, on the confines of the provinces of Anjou and Poitou in France, which is entirely formed from the solid rock of a mountain excavated for that purpose by an effort of human labour worthy of the Romans. It is very remarkable that so singular a monument of antiquity should never have been taken any notice of before Lipsius's time; especially being situated in so civilized a country. But it is time to quit this subject: I shall therefore only observe further, that the amphitheatre at Caerleon is placed without the walls of the camp, according to the common custom of the Romans upon such occasions.

HORSLEY mentions a valuable collection of medals and other curiosities belonging to Mr. George at Caerleon: but, unfortunately, this collection exists no longer; nor could I learn what became of it. However, Mr. Morgan of Caerleon, whom I have before mentioned, has, for some years past, collected almost every thing belonging to Roman antiquity that has been found in this neighbourhood. He shewed me a great quantity of Roman brass, and some silver coins, particularly of the Constantines and Valentinians, together with *fibulae*, rings, seals, fragments of small figures of bronze, and lamps; besides

[y] Lipsius de Amphitheatris extra Romam, cap. 1.

[z] De Amphitheatro, cap. 2.

some neat instruments, seemingly of surgery, and not unlike some which I remember to have seen in the celebrated collection at Portici near Naples. Among other curious fragments, the same gentleman also shewed me the arm of a bronze figure, in a very good style of sculpture, and which he lately discovered in making a drain. Various printed accounts of museums, and other books of antiquity, preserve to us the designs of many such and other different curiosities of the earlier times; and it were much to be wished that travellers would pay the same regard to the more scattered remains of the like nature, which accidentally fall in their way. Such designs, when accumulated, would make no inconsiderable addition to the present stock. The late curious and indefatigable Count Caylus has given us a noble specimen of such a work, in the ample collection of various antiquities he has published, and which might very well serve for a model to others on this interesting subject. In the preface to one of the many critical essays written by our ingenious and learned philologist Mr. Evelyn, author of the excellent discourse on forest-trees, there is an account of a very curious traveller, of a noble family of Bologna, whose name I do not immediately recollect, who explored the different provinces of nature and art upon the most extensive plan, surpassing even that of the ancient or any other modern Pliny. He procured designs, and often models, of every thing that appeared to him curious, of whatsoever kind, descending even to the most trivial arts; and that nothing might escape him in the more populous towns, he used frequently to change his habitation, from one quarter to another, as occasion required. By this means, however, at his death, which, if I mistake not, happened, prematurely, at Paris, the greatest part of his borrowed, though most valuable, treasure was irrecoverably lost. I forget

forget whether Mr. Evelyn is very particular in his account of this person, but the account itself has been repeatedly confirmed to me abroad. But surely it is pity, that a person, curious and patient enough for such an undertaking, should not, at the same time, employ the proper means to secure to himself, as well as to the world, the fruits of it.—But to return to my subject.

THE greatest curiosity of Roman antiquity lately found at Caerleon is a triangular hooped gold ring, with an intaglio set in it, representing the story of Hercules strangling the Nemean lion. It was found a few years ago in digging for the foundation of a cellar opposite to the White Hart alehouse in Caerleon, and is at present in the possession of Mr. Thomas Norman, maltster, in that town. The figure of this intaglio represented in the annexed plate [a] was taken from a good impression of the original; and I am indebted to the superior taste and skill of Mr. Bartolozzi for so faithfully preserving in the engraving the spirit and character of the sculpture. It is well known that this, as well as other subjects relative to Hercules, have been frequently treated by the ancient artists and poets. Indeed Mr. Spence [b] justly observes, that no other of the twelve gods have so many monuments of antiquity relating to him. The poets and mythologists described this hero, in his combats with lions, in two different attitudes; either as squeezing them to death against his own breast, or as tearing their jaws asunder. Mr. Spence observes, that the former seems to have been the method used by him in his earlier engagements. Hence we find this subject more commonly treated, as well by the poets as on cameos and intaglios. He is supposed to have encountered the Nemean lion in this engagement, and the Cleonean in the

[a] Plate I.

[b] Polymetis, Dial. IX. p. 114.

other,

other, which is represented as the first of his twelve labours [c]. The former therefore appears to be the subject of the Caerleon intaglio; nor need we wonder that this victory was so often celebrated by the ancient poets and artists, if we consider that even games [d] are supposed to have been instituted in honour of it. The ingenious and polite scholar, whom I have just mentioned, further observes, that the manner in which Hercules is supposed to have encountered these lions was a very awkward way of killing such monsters, as appears but too much in the figures that represent it [e]. But surely no other way could have been devised by the ancients so suitable to the idea they meant to express of the extraordinary strength of this hero, or to that sublimity of style in which they constantly conceived and treated all subjects. For would it not have demeaned their god to have put any offensive weapon into his hands? And though the club is introduced in the subject before us, yet it is only as being the most common attribute of Hercules, not that we are to suppose him to have made any use of it upon the occasion. In fact, it is commonly either lying on the ground, as in the Caerleon intaglio, or rested in such a manner as manifestly implies its having been put aside by the hero previous to the engagement, in order, seemingly, that it might not be any impediment to the exertion of his bodily strength, which did not stand in need of such advantages. A further proof of this is, that, in the representations of other similar conflicts of Hercules, the club seems only introduced as

[c] Polymetis, Plate XVIII. fig. 1.

[d] Tertullian. de Spect. cap. 11. Pitisci Lex. Ant. Rom. voc. NEMAEA. See also Laurent. Begeri Hercules Ethnicorum ex variis antiquitatum reliquiis delineatus et illustratus. Fol. Eleutheropoli, 1705.

[e] Polymetis, Dial. IX. p. 116.

an idle accessory, rather by way of a characteristic than as an instrument necessary to him in such exploits. Thus, for instance, in the figure, by which Mr. Spence illustrates Hercules's fourth labour, when he subdued the wild stag, the club lies on the ground, and even under the beast, which our hero notwithstanding seems to have entirely at his command. It is equally introduced as an attribute only in the figures which the same gentleman has chosen for the representations of the tenth and eleventh labours, as well as those of his combat with the giant Anteus. But, in many similar combats of Hercules, the club is not even introduced at all; as in the figures Mr. Spence has also given us of his third and seventh labours, in which he conquered the Erymanthean boar, and bull, and seems notwithstanding to have obtained an easy victory over them, being represented as carrying them off in triumph on his shoulders. And I believe it may generally be observed, that Hercules seldom or never made use of his club as a weapon, but upon such occasions only as required address, as well as bodily strength, and where the latter alone could hardly be supposed to have been adequate. Thus is he represented [f] in his second, eighth, and ninth labours, in which his bodily strength alone would scarcely have availed him. For with what prospect of success could he have encountered, unarmed, the many-headed Hydra, Diomed with his furious horses, and the triple-bodied giant Geryon? Before I quit this subject I shall also further observe, that however awkward the manner may appear, in which Hercules is represented in his combats with the lions, yet in all the representations of them by the ancient artists, which I have yet seen, the hero constantly mani-

[f] See Spence's *Polymetis*, as before.

feels a power adequate for the purpose, as well in his wonderful muscular strength, as by his particular attitudes. The sublime ideas that inspired these great masters, enabled them, at the same time, to pronounce, with irrefragable truth, in their works, whatever characters they pleased. Such subjects must doubtless prove difficult, not to say desperate, in the hands of modern artists, who have seldom been very happy in their representations of common nature; much less can we then expect to find them equal to the sublimer character of gods and heroes. What ignorance do not Bernini and Puget discover in their manner of treating the muscles! And can we compare the happier productions of the more chaste and correct modern artists with the irreproachable chisel of the ancients? And if Michael Angelo aspired to their boldness of style, did he not, at the same time, corrupt it by his affectation and extravagance? For the manner in which Hercules is represented in his combats with the two lions, does not appear to me at all preposterous, nor even awkward, from the particular propriety of expression which the ancients knew how to give it. On the contrary, this manner is intirely consistent with their sublime principles, at the same time that it proves their wonderful abilities in the execution of them. Before I quit the Caerleon intaglio, I must observe, that the hoop of the ring is of a very clumsy make, as such kind of curiosities often are. Probably the ancients thought it sufficient if, in similar works, the sculpture of the stones was good, which was the principal proof of their art. Though the subject of this intaglio is common enough, as hath been before observed; yet, as it confirms the few remarks before-mentioned, and such kind of curiosities are very seldom found in any part of our island, I thought that a figure of it would not be altogether superfluous. I must not omit here
to.

to add a word or two about the particular situation of old Caerleon.

It is observable, that the Romans commonly chose to fix their capital towns and stations near the banks of a river, and in the middle of a rich plain surrounded by hills. The situation of the camp at Caerleon answers to these particulars in every respect; neither could I observe any spot, throughout the neighbouring counties, so eligible for the head-quarters of the legion stationed there. When I reflected on the importance, and even splendor of this place in the Roman times, I could not turn my back upon it without feeling some disappointment at the little success that attended my researches there. I must however observe, that as these researches were confined principally within and near the platform of the old camp, which is mostly covered with modern buildings, some curious remains may very possibly have escaped me, more especially towards the circumjacent hills, which I had not an opportunity to examine particularly. I have nothing more to observe at present relative to the vestiges of Roman antiquity in Monmouthshire, except that in some old lead mines at Kevenpwell-du, near Machen, are very deep and large caverns in the lime-stone rock, which, as well from their great extent, as the manner in which they appear to have been worked, are supposed by the inhabitants in the neighbourhood to have been opened by the Romans. However that may be, Roman coins, especially of brass, are not uncommonly found there.

About two miles below Caerleon is situated, very advantageously, on the banks of the same river Usk, the town of Newport, whose name, as Baxter, the British oracle, observes in his Glossary upon *Uxaconi Antonini*, seems to imply some older place, and here perhaps refers to Old Caerleon, from whose

ruins, as Camden observes, it was probably built. In point of situation, with respect to modern times, it equals, if not exceeds Caerleon; being nearer the Severn sea, and commanding a much more extensive tract of the same fertile plain. The town is walled round; which circumstance I mention, since Leland has left us in doubt about it. Nor is the bridge over the river Usk at this place built with stone, as some other more modern author has affirmed, but of wood, and nearly upon the same plan with those at Chepstow and Caerleon. The width of the river at Newport would have rendered a stone bridge very expensive; more especially considering the great height to which the spring-tides often rise along this coast, reaching sometimes, according to Brome [g], to twelve ells. The town of Newport has flourished considerably since the decline of Caerleon; otherwise it contains little that is curious to a traveller, except the remains of the castle, which are very considerable, and make a noble appearance at the North-east corner of the town, on the bank of the river Usk.

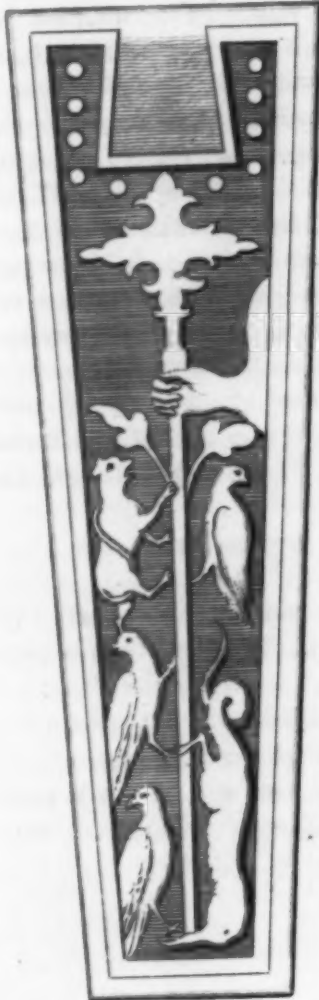
THOUGH I have already trespassed, perhaps too far, on the sufferance of this learned Society; yet I must beg leave, before I conclude the present paper, to add a short account of some more modern remains of antiquity, that accidentally presented themselves to my notice, in my researches through this county.

I SHALL first refer to two very curious stones, found 1765 in the church-yard near St. Pier, the seat of Morgan Lewis, esq. From the annexed representation [b] of these stones, and more particularly from the inscription engraved on one of them, they evidently appear to be sepulchral, and probably belonged to

[g] Travels, p. 21.

[b] Plate II.

1



2



each other. Notwithstanding the obsolete style of this inscription, it is yet very intelligible. It is in old French rhyme, and begins at the two dots, or points, next the left arm of the cross, and without date. Such kind of inscriptions, engraved, like this, on the verge of the stone, and without date, are common enough with us. One such at St. Buriens in Cornwall is particularly mentioned in the Annotations to Camden's Britannia. Salmon [i] observes, that the Normans delighted in reducing the Teutonic to their modern French, and dropping the uncouth gutturals, and what had a sound approaching them. Thus the word *child* is in Saxon *cild*. The characters *þ* *€*, [*k*] in the inscription before us, manifestly stands for *ke*, or *que*; an example of which, though they are not very common, we have in the old French inscription taken from a manuscript in Holkham library, formerly belonging to Sir Edward Coke, and mentioned by Dr. Stukeley [j], sacred to the memory of vicar Peris, one line of which is

ke nul ne beyve sans ne y ay m'atente mise.

The transposition of the letter *b* before the *€*, in the first syllable of the word *PhECEZ*, for *PECHEZ*, in the last line of the St. Pier inscription, is, perhaps, a mistake. I do not understand what the two final letters *R. P.* mean; unless they stand for the initial letters of the carver's name, or are intended for *Notre Pere*, &c. instead of *Pater Noster*, which often follows epitaphs. In the copy shewn to the Society 1765 it is *P. R.*

[i] Survey, p. 863.

[k] It. Car. L. p. 61.

[j] Query, if not mis-copied for *KE* and *DONC* for *DONE*.

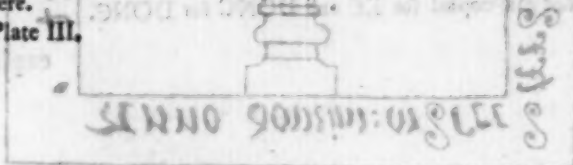
explained

explained by Dr. Milles *Priez*. The inscription itself appears to have been devoted to the memory of Urian de St. Pere, knight, who lived in the reign of king Henry the Third, and died A. D. 1239, in the twenty-third year of the reign of king Edward the First, leaving, by his wife Margaret, a son named Urian de St. Pere, then sixteen years of age. He also was a knight, and had issue John de St. Pere, who succeeded his father in the eighth year of the reign of king Edward the Third, and was the last heir male of his line. Isabella de St. Pere, his sister, and heiress, married Sir Walter Cokesey, knight, in the thirtieth year of the reign of the same king, and died in the sixth year of the reign of king Henry the Fourth. The sword represented on the right-hand side of the cross on the stone, fig. 1, sufficiently denotes Urian de St. Pere's [1] degree of knighthood.

ANOTHER curious sepulchral stone, for the drawing of which I am indebted to the care and ingenuity of Mr. Hay at Brecknock, is to be seen in the church at Christ Church, near Caerleon; and upon which it is the strange custom for parents to expose their sick children on the eve of Ascension-day. Sixteen were laid upon it on that day in the year 1770, according to Mr. Hay's information, upon sending me the original drawing, from which the annexed figure [m] was engraved. Though the Latin inscription on this stone appears little defaced, yet it is far from being very intelligible, and seems rather in a barbarous style, agreeable to the time to which it refers, and which appears to be the year 1300. The design of the cross carved

[1] Mr. Pegge, who explained these stones in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Feb. 1765, p. 72. supposes the other covered the body of Margaret, wife of Urian de St. Pere.

[m] Plate III.



on



Stone in the Church at Christchurch near Caerleon.

Basire Scul.

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on this stone, though rather clumsy, does not want invention, and is, proportionally, far superior, in point of taste and execution, to the two remaining figures.

BESIDES Caldecot castle, which I have before described, there are the remains of several other castles in this county, whereof those of Chepstow and Ragland are, I believe, the most considerable. It is rather surprizing, that Stowe, in his *Annals*, should have adopted the vulgar opinion, in attributing the building of Chepstow castle to Julius Caesar; more especially as neither Leland, Camden, nor, as I believe, any other author of repute before him, give any ground for it. On the contrary, Camden is of opinion, that this castle is of very little antiquity; and says, that several affirm, nor without reason, that it had its rise, not many ages past, from the antient *Venta*. The remains of Ragland castle, between Abergavenny and Chepstow, make a most noble appearance, and still preserve an air of regularity. In the room supposed to have been the kitchen, and which is still in tolerable preservation, is one of the largest chimnies I ever saw. The two stones, that form the arch of this chimney, may vie in bulk with those unwieldy masses so often seen in the august buildings of the Romans. Though they have a very clumsy appearance, yet I observed, that the ornamental parts of the doors and windows of this castle were very light, and in a very good style of Gothic sculpture. But it is superfluous to enter into particular descriptions of these castles, since good prints of the principal ones are to be found in Mr. Buck's valuable collection, and these give a much better idea of such objects than any verbal account whatever. Gyraldus Cambrensis, in his tour of Wales, took as little notice of these castles as of the less conspicuous remains of Roman antiquity; only slightly mentioning them under the general name of *castra*.

But

But perhaps many of them were not built when that learned man made his tour; at least, this opinion is rendered very probable by the arguments of an ingenious modern author [n], who is, moreover, better acquainted with these venerable piles than perhaps any other person. Leland also, though more modern, takes as little notice, in his Itinerary, of the Welsh castles, as Gyraldus. Among the many curious remains of antiquity observable in this county, Tintern Abbey holds a principal rank; not only for the elegance of its parts, but also for the careful and neat manner in which they are preserved by their noble owner. This abbey, of the Cistercian order, was founded in the year 1131 by Walter de Clare. The principal remains of it are the walls of the church, built in the form of a cross, the dimensions of which have been given by that inquisitive antiquary Browne Willis, and a plan of it in the second volume of Stevens's Monasticon. A picturesque view of its remains has since been engraved by Mr. Buck, and by Mr. Grose. Though the carved work of this building is done in a common sort of sand-stone, yet it is neat, and in good taste.

[n] Mr. Barrington's account of the Welsh castles, *Archæologia*, vol. I. 278.

III. Mr.

[81]

III. *Mr. Barrington on some additional Information
relative to the Continuance of the Cornish Language.
In a Letter to John Lloyd, Esq. F. A. S.*

Read March 21, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

March 20, 1776.

ISOME TIME since addressed to you several particulars relative to the remains of the Cornish language, which the Society of Antiquaries did me the honour to insert in the Third Volume of the *Archaeologia* (p. 278). It may not be improper therefore to lay before the Society some further information on this head, which the Rev. Mr. Penneck, F. R. S. hath been so obliging as to procure for me.

DOLLY Pentreath (the old woman of Mousehole, whom I mentioned in my former letter) is still alive, being supposed to be ninety years of age, and is now grown excessively deaf. She is conceived by some to be the only person now existing who can speak Cornish; but Mr. Penneck's nurse, who died about twenty years ago, could likewise converse in the same language. She was born in the village of Newlyn, which is on the same side of Mount's-Bay as Mousehole; her name being Jane Cock; which she afterwards changed by marriage to Matthews of St. Just. She died in the service of Mrs. Usticke, at Leah,

Vol. V.

M

in

in Cornwall. Another nurse is still remembered by some people in the Western part of that county, whose name was Jane Woolcock; she was born in the same village of Newlyn, and spoke Cornish very fluently.

FROM what I have above stated, it is very clear, that, when Dr. Borlase published his Natural History of Cornwall, more than one person was alive who could speak Cornish; though he supposes it at that time "to have altogether ceased, so as not to be used any where in conversation." It is very remarkable also, that Dr. Borlase [a] mentions, "that the Cornish language was generally spoken in the parish of Paul fifty years ago," in which Dolly Pentraeth lives, perhaps not more than four miles from the Doctor's house. How naturally therefore would he have taken notice of such a person continuing to exist in the parish of Paul, after the passage which I have above cited from the Natural History of Cornwall!

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful-humble Servant,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

Nov. 7, 1776.

Mr. Barrington, in addition to some former accounts given in by him, proving that the Cornish language is still not entirely lost in Cornwall, produced a letter, dated Mousehole,

[a] Natural History, p. 315.

July

July 3, 1776, written by one William Bodener, a fisherman, both in English and Cornish [b]. This man is sixty-five years of age, and speaks the language very readily. He has been to sea with five other men in a boat, and has not heard, he says, a word of English among them for a week together. He also states, that there are four or five other persons still living in the village of Mousehole, who can converse in Cornish.

[b] This letter is deposited with the Society. The lines are alternately Cornish and English, and contain, amongst other particulars, the following in both languages:

Mousehole, July 3, 1776.

Bluth ve Eus try Egener a pemp
my age is three score and five
tbra tra ve deon Boodjack an pofcal
I am a poor fisher man
me rig deshy Cornsack tormen me ves matw
I learnt Cornish when I was a boy
me ves demore gen cara ves a pemp deon moy en cock
I have been to sea with my father and five other men in the boat
me rig fcanthwir clowis Edonger fowinack Cornus en cock
and have not heard one word of English spoke in the boat
rag fytben iware bar
for a week together
no rig a ves bifeath gwellas lever. Cornsack
I never saw a Cornish book
me desky Cornsack mous da more gen tes coath
I learned Cornish going to sea with old men
na ges moye vel pager pe pemp endrau nje
there is not more then four or five in our town
Ell claffa Cornish liden
can talk Cornish now
poble coath pager byanes bluth
old people four score years old
Cornsack ewe all na cea ves gen poble yunt
Cornish is all forgot with young people

M 3

Mr.

June 16, 1777.

Mr. Barrington informed the Society, that Mr. James Phillips, printer and bookseller, in George-yard, Lombard-street, hath lately told him, that John Nancarrow, junior, of Market Jew, who is not more than forty years of age, had learned the Cornish language from the country people during his youth, and can now converse in it; as can an inhabitant of Truro, whose name Mr. Phillips does not now recollect.

Mr. Phillips hath also favoured Mr. Barrington with the perusal of a very curious MS. which, as it possibly may never be published, it may not be improper to give some account of to the Society.

It is very fairly written, and consists of 564 pages in folio. Dr. Borlase had examined this MS. as he mentions it in the Preface to his Cornish Vocabulary; and hath likewise inserted the following memorandum in the third page.

“MEM. I had this book from Mr. Collins of St. Erth, who had it procured for him (as well as I recollect) from the heirs of Thomas Tonkin [c], Esq; by the Reverend Mr. James Walker, Vicar of St. Agnes.”

THE MS. consists of the following articles:

P. 1. Mr. Edward Lhuyd's preface to his Cornish grammar in English.

N. B. It is only printed in Cornish in Lhuyd's *Archaeologia*, and in one of his letters inserted in this MS. Mr. Lhuyd (who had been only three months in Cornwall) acknowledges, that when he was at a loss for a Cornish word, he had substituted a Welsh one in its place, and was therefore solicitous to know

[c] Of Truro in Cornwall.

whethes

whether his correspondents in Cornwall understood his publication.

P. 6. A Cornish grammar. This is published in Lhuyd's *Archaeologia*.

P. 37. First letter to Thomas Tonkin, esq. with an account of the monuments of Clarice Bolleit and Riolabran, dated Oct. 15, 1700, in which he corrects some mistakes in Gibson's first edition of Camden's *Britannia*.

P. 38. 2d letter on Lhuyd's design of going into Brittany. —In other parts of this MS. it appears, that Lhuyd being a naturalist as well as linguist, travelled about with a knapsack, and being found in ditches, as well as other odd places, was apprehended in Cornwall for a house-breaker, as he was afterwards in Brittany by the intendant of that province; though Lhuyd never acquainted the public with these circumstances, but rather intimates, as I recollect, that he was confined as a state prisoner.

P. 40. Letter 2, contains nothing material.

P. 41. Letter 4, an account of two MSS. in the Bodleian Library, containing 4 plays, with a translation, by Mr. Keigwen. This Mr. Keigwen attending at the assizes for Cornwall 1678, was desired by Sir Francis North, then lord chief justice, to translate a poem called, *The Passion of Christ*, from the Cornish heroic metre. Lhuyd in one of his letters mentions, that Mr. Keigwen used more imagination than fidelity in his translation, and altered the text whenever it displeased him.

P. 41. Letter 5, account of the metre of the antient Britons, and several other articles.

P. 45. Letter 6, meaning of the Cornish syllables *tre* and *pol*, prefixed to names, with Mr. Tonkin's notes.

- P. 47, 48. Letters on no interesting subjects.
- P. 56. Mount Calvary, a poem in Cornish, with a translation by Mr. Scawen of Molineck.
- P. 95. Extracts from Mr. Scawen's MSS.
- P. 104. The Creation of the World, written in Cornish by Mr. William Jordan in 1611, and translated into English by John Keigwen of Mousehole, at the request of Bishop Trelawney.
- P. 192. The first chapter of Genesis translated into Cornish by William Guavas, esq. March 18, 1731.
- P. 198. Ordinale de origine mundi. Cornish and English, anonymous.
- P. 377. The Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, Cornish and English, dramatic.
- P. 388. Ordinale de resurrectione Christi.
- P. 395. Verses on the pilchard fishery.
- P. 396. Verses on different subjects.
- P. 397, 398. Fishermens songs.

FROM p. 401 to 564 is a Cornish vocabulary, many words of which were taken from a Bodleian MS. and upon examining two or three pages of the vocabulary published by Dr. Borlase I find many words in this MS. omitted, perhaps for good reasons, the Dr. having certainly consulted the Tonkin MS.

IN Heath's Account of the Islands of Scilly, there are many words, sentences, &c. in Cornish; particularly the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, &c.

D. B.



Fig. 11. p. 91.

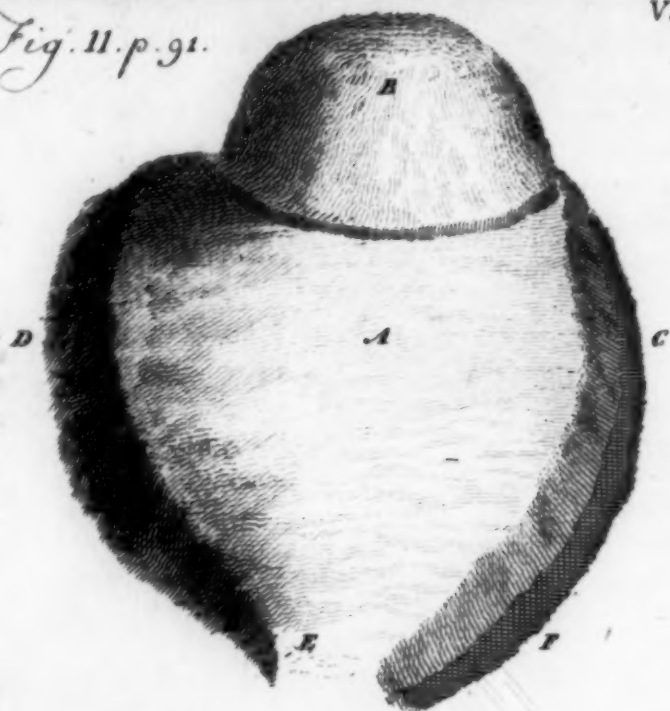
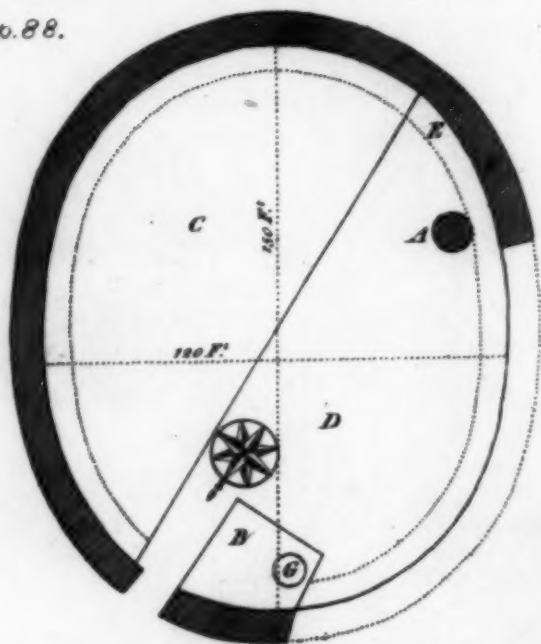


Fig. 1. p. 88.



C 87 I

IV. *An Account of some hitherto undescribed Remains of Antiquity, by the Rev. John Waton, M.A. F.S.A. and Rector of Stockport in Cheshire.*

(Read May 3, 1776.)

IT is something remarkable, that the general plan of the Roman military stations in this island is better known than those of the Saxons and Danes, which in great measure is owing to these latter not making roads of communication between the different places which they fortified. Another reason is, that sufficient attention has not been paid to the subject, especially in some of the northern parts of England, as is evident with respect to the former of these two invaders, from the map inserted in Gibson's *Chronicon Saxonum*. An improvement of this has often been wished for; but we cannot expect such an undertaking to have the desired effect, till better search has been made after these kind of remains, and the discoveries made public. With this view, I beg leave to lay before the Society a short account of a few military works of this sort, as yet, I believe, unnoticed by any writer.

The first is called *Buſton Caſtle*, and is in Micklehurſt within Tugtwiſel (or Tinfel) in the pariſh of Mottram Longdendale in Cheshire. Pl. IV. exhibits a ground plan and meſuration of it, to which may be added, that the inner ſlope of the rampart is 27 feet, the outward ſlope from the top thereof to the bottom ditch 35 feet; depth of the ditch 8 feet, width at bottom 6 feet; height



height of the rampart above the level of the ground 8 feet; breadth of the open way into the station 16 feet.

In fig. I. A shews an hollow place where the country people have been digging; B and C where the most considerable ruins are: but the strongest works appear to have been at the former of these, perhaps to secure the entrance. D shews the level of the area. E is the rampart, F the ditch.

SOME years ago a report gained credit, that a large chest of gold was hid here; on which near a hundred people dug for several days, but found nothing. This, no doubt, caused some of the irregularities still visible there; but their greatest effort seems to have been made at G.

THIS remain is placed on the summit of an high hill, and is surrounded with a rampart and ditch; except towards the west, where the ground is so exceeding steep, that a rampart alone was a sufficient defence: on the North and East it gradually declines, but towards the South it falls quicker off. The walls are removed, and only a rude heap of stones remains, without the least mark of a tool on any of them, as far as I could observe. There is no water within it, but there is a fine spring called *Witbin-pit*, on a hill about a mile to the South-east; which spring lies higher than Bucton Castle, and leaden pipes have been found between them, which shews that this was not a mere temporary station, but a fixt one; and that some very considerable personage had his residence here, may be presumed from the following discovery. As the inhabitants a few years ago were widening the road which leads by the foot of this hill from Mottram at Saddleworth, one of the workmen turned up with his spade a quantity of ashes, under which he found a gold chain, with eighteen large beads on it, and having a locket quartered cross-ways by four scepters, the whole weighing near two ounces troy weight. Another man found, about two yards distant from this, a tarnished vessel, broken into several pieces, which he took to be silver,

silver, and would (as he thought) if whole, have contained about a quart. It was embossed, and had the shape of a crown on one of the pieces. He judged it to be broken before he struck it with his mattock. He also turned up, with this, what he called the top of a silver duster. These all were sent to the late earl of Dyfart, who was lord of the manor.

THERE is a tradition that this castle once belonged to a duke of Buxton; and at the foot of the hill on which it stands is an house, the oldest male inhabitant of which has the title of duke of Buxton, given him by the neighbourhood. This possibly may be thought to have its rise from nothing but the humour of the country people; it appears however probable to me that this large tan (if it has not its name from *buz* or *boz*, *curvatura*, from *buzan*, *flectere*, as descriptive of its shape) is called after the name of its original owner, like Buxton in Derbyshire, and some others in different parts of the kingdom.

THE next remain which I discovered in this neighbourhood is that of a large Saxon fortification, called *Mowslow Castle*, on the top of a very high hill, in the parish of Glossop in the county of Derby, near the banks of that river which some call the Mersey, and others the Ederow. Its name seems to be derived from the Anglo-Saxon *Mope* an heap of any thing, and *Lowe* (lowe) which in the same language signified an hill, answering nearly to *Mowcop*, a large round-topped hill between Cheshire and Derbyshire. This etymology tends to shew that what I am describing was a Saxon work, and the form of it corresponds with the ideas we have of the military taste of that people. On the top of it there was a strong fort surrounded by a wall, the whole encompassed by three large ditches. The ascent being small towards the South-west, the strongest works were raised on that side; on all other parts the

hill is exceedingly high and steep; a circumstance in which the Saxons differed from the Romans, who seldom or ever, out of choice, fixed on such elevated stations as this. Even this very hill was rejected by them when they settled at what is now called Melandra Castle, within a computed mile of Mowflow, on the banks of the same stream. This military settlement of our Saxon ancestors was very considerable, for the fortified ground took in some acres. The earth on the top of the hill is exceedingly irregular, and has been robbed of most of its stone to build houses, and make fence walls. There are good springs of water within the compass of it.

At the foot of the hill towards the East is a large flat piece of ground, commonly called *Aumonshaw*, but written (as it is said) in some old deeds *Almansdeath*. To explain this name, the country people have a tradition, that an army which came to attack this castle, encamped on this ground, and that the garrison making a sally, not a man of them returned, being all put to the sword, on which account it got the name of *Almansdeath*. But from the situation of the ground, it appears to be so ill-judged an action, for the garrison to have quitted their strong hold, to fight with an enemy on equal terms, that it seems not very credible; neither is there the least appearance of any tumuli either on, or near this place. There is nothing to shew that this castle was ever besieged at all; nor is it certain from the name that any one was killed here, for an old inhabitant there assured me, that the true name of the above flat was *Almansbeatb*. I suspect therefore that *Almansdeath* took its rise from the wrong reading of some deed wherein the letter *b* was mistaken for *d*. Most probably this heath had its name from some ancient owner of it, or from the chief lord of this castle, who might be called *Ealmunt*, or something of the like sound.

I HAVE heard of no digging in or about this ground, nor of any

any curiosities being found there, but that is the case of many other Saxon stations, concerning which the best antiquaries have made no doubt.

FIG. II. is a representation of a piece of fortified ground near the village of Bradfield in the parish of Ecclesfield in Yorkshire. The area marked by the letter A was probably inhabited by the garrison, and was strongly guarded by an artificial mount as at B, by a raised bank at C, and a large natural descent on the side marked D. The only entrance into it was at E, which being narrow could easily be defended. The mount is about 27 yards from top to bottom, and the ditch which surrounds it about ten yards wide; the diameter of its top about twelve yards, and its circumference at bottom 174 yards. The raised bank at C is 110 yards long on the outside; at the point next the mount it is twelve yards in ascent. On the outside of this bank is a large ditch, the ascent out of which to the top of the bank is about 18 yards. Within it is something less than eight yards.

THIS I take to have been a station of the Danes. Its name is *Bailey Hill*, which is an ancient word for a fort. See Whitaker's History of Manchester, vol. II. p. 244.

WHAT caused those people to pitch upon this particular spot of ground was the natural strength of the declivity at D, which being so exceedingly difficult of access, no works are added to it; but nothing of this sort being on the opposite side at C, they found it necessary to guard it by a large agger and ditch. This agger is curved, both because the Danes did not seem fond of having angles in works of this kind, and because the point of it was sooner drawn to form the narrow passage at E. The ground where the mount stands was level, but it was thrown up on the highest part belonging to the settlement, and there is a gentle descent from thence to the point E. I had not time to take the dimensions of the area at A; but it is large enough to shew

that this was a very considerable military station. It does not appear ever to have been forced, the form of the works being entire: even the passage through the ditch from the agger to the mount is still visible.

THE point of the hill, about a quarter of a mile from this, on the other side of the village of Bradfield, seems also to have been fortified by the same people. There are visible remains of a keep surrounded by a ditch, except on the steep side of the hill where a ditch was not necessary; and on the slope of the hill there is the appearance of an intrenchment. This, I think, was intended for an additional security to Bailey Hill, because of its being the only place where an enemy could, with advantage, sit down to annoy it. A greater part of the country is seen from this point, and therefore useful to prevent a surprize; but that it was not thrown up *pro tempore*, may be conjectured from the regular appearance of the work, and from its having the name of *Castle Hill*, and some land adjoining to it being in writings called the *Castle Field*. That this, however, was not the principal settlement is plain, because it was neither so large, nor so strongly fortified as the other, about which no labour was spared to make it as secure as possible.

ANOTHER curiosity worth taking notice of in the neighbourhood of Bradfield aforesaid, is an exceeding large ditch called the *Bordike*, which forms the present boundary between Broomhead moor, and Smallfield common, but could not from its size be originally intended for any such thing; though when it was thought necessary to make a division of these two commons, no fitter line could be drawn for that purpose.

THERE is a tradition that some great man was slain here by one who had the figure of a boar on his standard, and that the dike took its name from thence. How far this may be founded in historic truth is impossible to say; it is however too uncertain

to be relied upon. The appellation might only be given it as it was intended to be a bar or stoppage to any military force which might attempt to pass through that part of the country; and extremely well calculated it was, to shut up the country between the valleys of Agden and Yewden, which lie at the two ends of it, and which being full of wood might be impassable for an army. At one of its extremes are a very great number of small roundish hills called *Kenbere Hills*, which word may possibly come from *Cyne. royal* and here an *army*; as if one of the Saxon kings had occupied this fastness. If these hills are artificial, which I had not time to examine, the dike was attacked at this end, and a dreadful carnage must have ensued, if one may judge from the number of these supposed graves. This might have happened between the Saxons and the Danish garrison at Bailey Hill; but was one of those transactions concerning which history seems to be entirely silent.

BUT this is not the only curiosity on this common worthy the attention of an antiquary. There is on one part of it a large carnedde, called by the country people *the Apron-full of Stones*; a piece of a rock called the *Hurkeling Stone*, which forms the boundary between Broomhead moor and Agden, and which appears to have artificial basons upon it; also a small remain of stones laid circularly at what goes by the name of *the Side*, where are the remains of a breast-work, and a great number of tumuli, some of which being opened, afforded calcined bones, and a lightish kind of earth, perhaps if accurately examined, mixed with ashes. Here doubtless was a battle, different as I judge, from that at Kenbere Hills, and prior to it; even so long ago as the invasion of this country by the Romans. This conjecture is strengthened by a brass celt being dug up near these tumuli, which was a weapon of war amongst the Britons; and by part of Broomhead moor going by the name of *Roman Slack*. That the Romans were here, is evident from one of their coins being

being found by the side of Broomhead moor, and another near Bradfield, both as I remember of the higher empire, and together with the above brass celt lodged in the curious museum of my worthy friend John Wilson, Esq; of Broomhead in that neighbourhood. In the chapelry of Bradfield was also found in 1761 by a countryman as he was plowing a piece of uncultivated land called the *Lawns*, in Rivington, near Stanington, that valuable brass plate beginning IMP CAESAR DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI F DIVI NERVAE, &c. and examined some time ago by this Society.

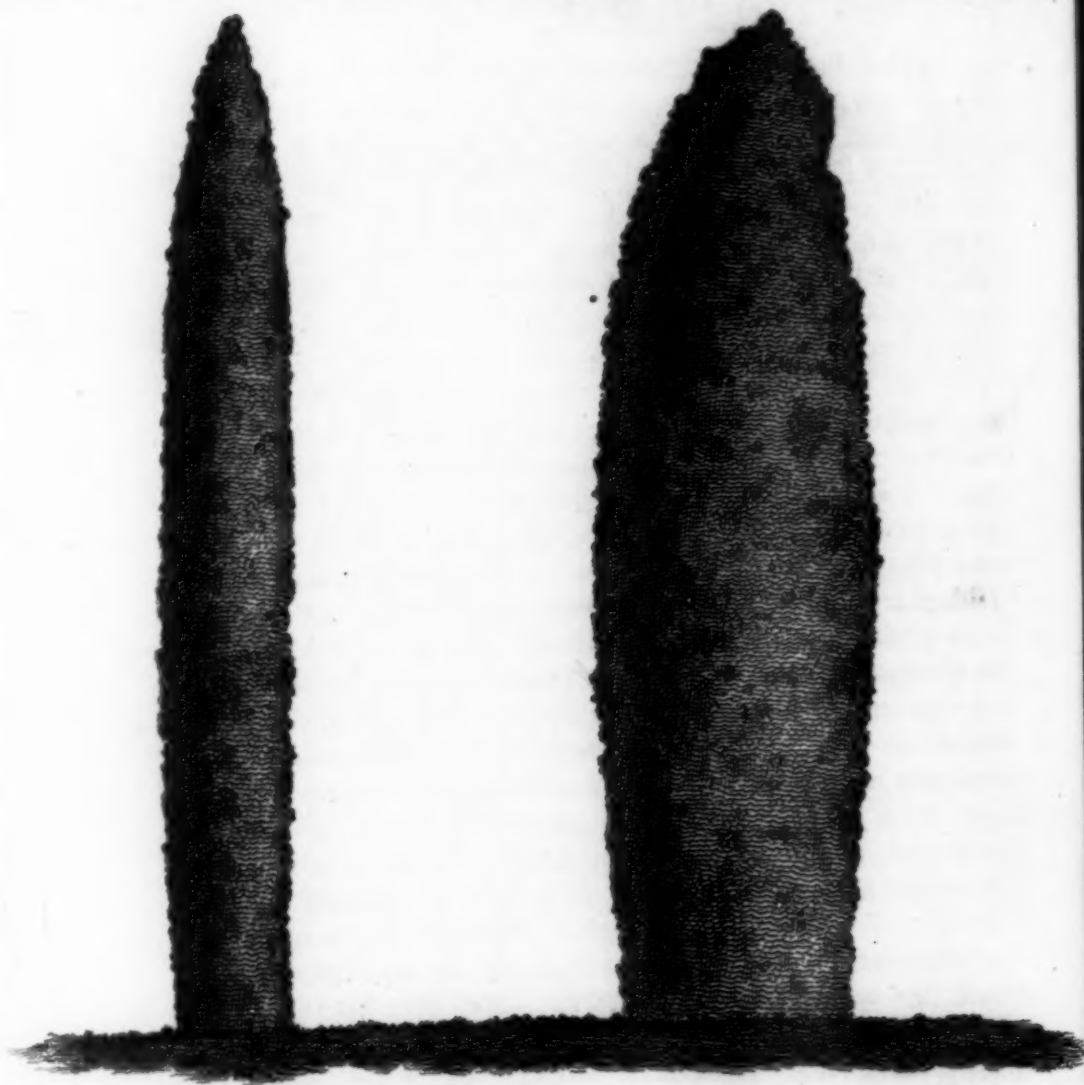
IN the above engagement the British chief seems to have been killed, and buried, for distinction's sake, at a distance from the rest, under the carnedde above-mentioned. The small circle formed by stones was probably a temporary work erected by the Druids as a fit place wherein to offer sacrifice, or put up petitions for the success and safety of their friends. There is something also of this sort on the other side of Bardike on Bradfield common; in particular, a circle of about eight yards diameter composed of twelve stones, and a confused heap in the center, near Handsome Cross, and the faint remains of two larger not far off. These with the Hurkeling Stone might be standing monuments of the Druidical superstition, and very properly so, being near Agden, or the Valley of Oaks, and the Lawns above-named, which Mr. Evelyn in his *Sylva* has taken notice of as abounding with trees of a large size.

As this is the first attempt to explain any of the above remains of antiquity, it is hoped that these conjectures will meet with a favourable allowance from that learned body to whom they are presented by their humble servant,

Stockport, Feb. 1, 1776.

JOHN WATSON.

V. Mr.



South Side

East Side



V. *Mr. Pegge, on the Rudston Pyramidal Stone.*

Read May 9, 1776.

RUDSTON, a village in the East-Riding of Yorkshire, on the Wolds, near Burlington, is thus noticed in bishop Gibson's edition of Camden, col. 901. " More inward into the
 " land, is Ruston, where, in the church-yard, is a kind of
 " pyramidal stone of great height. Whether the name of the
 " town may not have some relation to it, can be known only
 " from the private history of the place; but if the stone bear
 " any resemblance to a *cross, rod* in *Saxon* doth imply so much." This *cross*, as the bishop calls it, and I think not improperly, is a very curious monument; and, no doubt, of very remote antiquity. I am not aware that it has ever been engraved, and therefore I here present the Society with an accurate drawing* of it, which I received A. 1769, from the friendly hand of Mr. Willan, whose account I shall take the liberty to subjoin.
 " This stone stands about four yards from the North East
 " corner of Rudston church, which is situated on a high hill.
 " Its depth under ground equal to its height above, as appeared
 " from an experiment made by the late Sir William Strickland.
 " All the four sides are a little convex, and the whole covered
 " with moss. No tradition in this country of any autho-

* See plate V.

" rity,

“ rity, either concerning the time, manner, or occasion of its
“ erection.”

IF, as it is there stated, the part under ground be equal to that above, it is a most prodigious stone, not less than sixteen yards long; for the part above ground measures by the scale, above twenty-four feet. Mr. John Page, a master-builder, says the stone is of a very durable sort, as hard as most marble [a]; that the breadth is five feet ten, and the thickness two feet three; and esteeming it to be twenty-eight feet above ground, and as much below as above, he computes the whole weight to be, if equal to Portland stone, forty-six tun; but, if you suppose it to be as heavy as marble, 56 tun [b]. But it is to be observed, he makes the pyramid four feet too high above ground, and as much too long beneath, so that $\frac{2}{3}$ should be deducted; and then it may be rated, in a gross way, at about forty tun, supposing the substance to be specifically as ponderous as marble, which perhaps may be doubted [c].

IT is a difficult problem amongst antiquaries, to ascertain the true nature and intention of these pyramids in church-yards. They are commonly esteemed to be Danish erections, and, for my part, I have been always inclined to think them funeral monuments. There were, however, a considerable number of them in these midland parts of England [d], where the Danes

[a] He rates Portland stone at sixteen cubical feet to the tun, and marble at twelve.

[b] Mr. Drake, in his *Eboracum*, p. 26, 27, observes it is the same sort of stone with that near Borough-Bridge, *coarse rag stone or milstone grit*. If so, it is neither so hard, nor so heavy as marble.

[c] See the last note.

[d] I may add Brancaster in Cumberland. *Camd. col.* 1029. *Platt, Nat. Hist. of Staff.* p. 432. and this at Rudston. The devil's arrows at Borough-Bridge I conceive to be of a different nature.

were most powerful; as at Bakewell and Eyam, co. Derby, at Ilam, Leek, Checkley, Chebsey, and Draycot [e], co. Stafford. And one would almost wish to see them all measured and described, if not brought together into one plate, in order to try what can be made out from such an assemblage, by taking a comparative view of them.

To finish what I have to say on Rudstone; I make no doubt, but the village took its name from this monument, being otherwise written *Rudstan*, and *Ruddestan* [f], in the same sense. I interpret it *the stone of Rud* [g], *Rud* being a very common name; and do suppose, that before the erection of that stone, and consequently the interment of the great man, the place was called by some other name. Many places have changed their names, and there is no impropriety in supposing the church to be founded about the same time as the monument, and perhaps by the very person to whom the pyramid belongs. But this is all conjectural.

[e] This last is mentioned on the authority of Dr. Plott, Hist. of Staff. p. 432. for when I was there ten or twelve years ago I could not find it.

[f] Drake, Eborac. p. 591. 610. Burton, Mon. Eborac. p. 238.

[g] It means *red* both in Brit. and Sax. *Rudd* and *Rude*, *peab*, *peob*, *peb*. the French, *Rouge*.

VI. *Antiquities discovered in Lancaster, 1776. By
Mr. West, Author of the "Antiquities of Furness."*
Communicated by Mr. Lort.

Read May 9, 1776.

Lancaster, Feb. 1, 1776.

ON sinking the cellars for a large house at the upper part of Church-street in this town, now building by Daniel Wilson, esq. on the site of which stood some very old houses (formerly called the Judge's lodgings), was discovered, at about six feet below the present surface of the street, a supposed Roman burying-place; as burnt wood, bones, and ashes, broken paterae, urns, Roman brick, gutter tiles, coins, horns of animals, &c. were found; also, two fragments of thick walls, at about five yards distant from each other, in a direction from front to back, and seeming to continue under Church-street, betwixt which were several large stones, some of which were hewn. By this it may be conjectured, to have been a vault to deposit the ashes of the dead, and fallen-in, or pulled down, at some time, as there were found, within the walls, several pieces of urns, an earthen sepulchral lamp entire (the end of the spout where the wick came out was burnt black), broken paterae,

paterae, burnt bones, ashes, a large human skull, Roman coins, &c. also, at the North-end a well, filled with hewn stones, but not meddled with. There is a descent of about seventy or eighty yards from the back part of the house to where it is thought the river Lon. anciently run, but now built upon. The ground on the said back part was levelled a great many yards, equal with the cellar floor; where also where found, from three to six feet deep, according to the descent, burnt wood, bones, ashes, broken paterae, urns, other pieces of vessels of different shapes, Roman coins, boars' tusks, nails almost eaten with rust, pieces of lead, brass, &c. The stratum of ashes and bones was from a foot to about five feet thick. It no doubt runs quite under Church-street, if not farther, as in digging a drain on the opposite side of Church-street, and to the westward of Mr. Wilson's house, at about six feet under the surface, was found the same sort of stratum of ashes, bones, paterae, boars' tusks, a small brazen head like a dog's, which by the appearance of the back part of it has been fixed to something; the pedestal and feet part of a small image, thought to have been a Car, with an inscription, (it seems to be made of plaister of Paris, or some such matter); pieces of glass of a bluish-green colour, &c. One bottom of a patera found here had stamped on it CAD-GATEMA, perhaps the maker's name. These vessels are of a fine brown colour, far superior to the Staffordshire brown ware, elegantly varnished or glazed, some plain, others finely embossed with different sorts of figures, animals, and birds. The urns are in form of different sorts of jars, of a coarse kind, much like the oil jars; and some of a black colour as if burnt in the fire, some small, and some very large; but none entire, being broken into several pieces. Some have large handles.

NOTHING Roman was found above the burnt strata of ashes, bones, &c. which it may be conjectured was the then surface of

the ground; and where the funeral rites were performed, the burnt bones and ashes of the persons might be buried under this strata, as they were found in that situation with the pieces of urns. The inscriptions on the coins are none of them perfect; except one of brass, of Marcus Aurelius; and another small one of silver, a fine impression, and in high preservation, of Faustina his wife; on the head side, DIVA FAUSTINA PIA; reverse, a monument, with CONSECRATIO. The burying place is a little to the Eastward, and without the wall of the Roman fortification where the garrison was kept, as there now remain several vestiges of the wall, sufficient to evince that it has taken up great part of the hill where the church and castle stands, and part of the upper-end of Church-street. About one hundred yards to the Eastward of Mr. Wilson's new house, on the opposite side of Church-street, on digging a cellar a few years ago for a new house, Mr. Henry Baynes's, were found several large hewn stones, and one about six feet under the surface, supposed to be about three ton weight, of which several cellar steps were made; and about a ton weight still remains in its place, under which were found a great many Roman coins, of Domitian, Vespasian, &c. it is thought to be the corner stone of a temple, or other public building.

N. B. There were found in Mr. Wilson's cellar, as also in the drain in Church-street, several stones, thought to have been pieces of small hand mill-stones, of about thirteen inches diameter when whole, of a blueish-grey colour, and exceeding hard: they are about three inches thick at the outer edges, and not an inch in the middle.

VII. *Remarks on Governor Pownall's Conjecture concerning the Croyland Boundary Stone. By Mr. Pegge. In a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Milles.*

Read May 9, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

IT always gives me pleasure when I see gentlemen of known parts and learning reviewing any of our national antiquities, as one has a reasonable expectation of having them better illustrated; for though the modern antiquary may not perhaps be superior to his great predecessors in point of substantial literature, nor even equal them, yet he is possessed of some very singular advantages; he not only stands upon their shoulders, but is sure to be divested of all local prejudice and personal partiality; he is not to be led away by every idle, perhaps legendary, story; nor will he pronounce hastily, without examining carefully and closely, by calling to his aid reason, experience, and probability; all which he will employ with liberality of sentiment, as well as with accuracy of description and expression.

WHEREFORE,

WHEREFORE, Sir, as I had formerly seen myself the Terminus, or little obelisk, belonging to Croyland Abbey in Lincolnshire, I turned with avidity to Governor Pownall's Observations upon it, in the third volume of the *Archaeologia*. And considering the fracture at the upper end of the stone, as represented in the cut [a], and the history of its original extracted by the Governor from Ingulphus, his conjecture concerning AIO and the other founders appeared to me at first sight to be attended with a very high degree of probability, and I congratulated him in my own mind on the felicity of it. But, upon second thoughts, certain objections against his hypothesis have occurred to me, which, with all deference to the Governor's great learning and sagacity, I will here take the liberty to state to you, relying on his liberal mind to receive them with the same candour with which I mean to propose them.

THE Governor supposes, that as five monks of Croyland, of which AIO is the last named, settled the boundaries of the abbey-lands in the reign of king Edward, about A. D. 948, the inscription is at present imperfect, the first four names being broken off; and that Aio in the inscription,

Aio hanc petram Guthlacus habet sibi metam,

must mean the last-mentioned monk, and consequently that the inscription has been hitherto mistranslated by those who have taken it for the verb *Aio*, or *I say*.

My first remark is, that the names of AIO and his companions cannot, with propriety, have any place here, since the stone was not erected by them, but by Turketulus, the abbot, as is expressly asserted by the historian [b]. The five monks

were

[a] See the plate, p. 96. copied from Dr. Stukeley's *Itinerar. Curios.*

[b] Cancellarius Turketulus *jussit* cruces lapideas terminorum innovari.

Again,

were assisting, no doubt, in ascertaining the limits of the abbey-lands, but the crosses were erected by the authority of the abbot.

I OBSERVE next, that the inscription is evidently intended for a *Leonine*, or rhyming verse; a species of versification which, tho' not so common as afterwards, was yet not unknown at this time [c]. But now, if you detach the word *Aio* from the rest, and make it depend upon a former part of the legend now broken off, you will absolutely spoil the verse; *Aio* consequently can never be a proper name. But here it may be asked, Can this be a verse, when so lame in the metre, *o* in *Aio* being in scanning to be cut off? I reply, It may be an hexameter verse nevertheless, tho' a bad or a faulty one; false quantities, and other offences against rules, and even against grammar, occurring perpetually in the miserable productions of the baser Latinity. This, however, is no mighty mistake, the like being found in the best authors.

I OBJECT further, and lay great stress upon it, that if you regard the figure of the stone as there represented, running taper to the top, in the nature of a small obelisk, there could not be room for the other four names, *Clarenbaldus*, *Swartingus*, *Thurgarus*, and *Brunus*. One cannot imagine, supposing any manner

Again, *posuit tunc Turketulus crucem lapideam . . . et in boreali parte diclae insulae tunc posuit aliam crucem lapideam*; which, it seems, is the cross in question. Once more, *ex boreali parte crucis lapideae per praedictum Turketulum ibidem affixae*.

[c] Zac. Sylvius in Praef. ad Schol. Salernit. c. iv. says, *origo ejus vetus et incerta*. See also Fabricii Bibl. Lat. ii. p. 538, et iii. in Indice v. *Leonini versus*, and Mr. Warton's Hist. of Engl. Poetry in Dissert. ii. The famous Epitaph on Bede,

Hae sunt in fossa Bedae venerabilis ossa,

is probably as old as A. D. 948. Archbishop Usher must therefore be wrong in thinking the first extant example was in Gul. Pictavenus. Usserii Sylloge Epist. Hibern. p. 128. 138.

of.

of proportion to have been preserved in the original figure, that more than a third part is broken off, and yet the lost letters, upon the Governor's hypothesis, are more in number than those which now remain on the base, or broadest part, of the stone [d]. Certainly, considering the contracted space in the upper part, the pillar must have been of a most disproportionate length, of a height very inconsistent with the nature of a terminus, and, I may add, of a weight ill-adapted to the softness of the soil here [e], to receive 37 letters more than those we now read.

THIS last observation, Sir, is founded on the figure of the stone in the Governor's cut, and is intended to show, that even under the broken and tapering form there given, we cannot receive his interpretation. But to come to the truth of things: the original stone has been lately visited by our worthy member *John Lloyd, Esq; F. R. S.* who made a *fac simile* of it; and in his draught here annext, Plate VI. the stone is complete, having never been longer than it is at present, and is in fact a parallelogram. And therefore though upon Stukeley's representation, one might reasonably imagine a portion of it to have been broken off, yet now we can be sure there never were any more letters upon it than those which now appear. I conclude, that though it is indeed a singular and most extraordinary incident, that the name of the monk last-mentioned should coincide with the first word of the inscription, and the Governor's conjecture grounded upon it

[d] The present inscription consists, in its type, of 35 or 36 letters, but there are 37 lost. I have presumed, in making the computation, that the names were latinized, the rest of the inscription being in that language.

[e] *Turkatulus* ordered his crosses "in proximâ solidâ terrâ insigi, ne fortè lapsu temporis per aquarum alluvionem in flumina currerant, prout antiquae cruces . . . intellexerat curruisse." *Ingulphus.*



was doubtless very acute and ingenious, yet it comes out at last, that the legend having been never larger than at present, our antiquaries have heretofore rightly interpreted it, and we consequently have no reason to desert them.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

SAMUEL PEGGE.

201 106 106

VIII. *Observations on Celts.* *By the Reverend*
Mr. Lort.

Read May 23, 1776.

I HAVE the honor to exhibit to this Society a brass instrument* lately found by digging in the ruins of *Gleaston* Castle, situated in The Lower Furness, in the county of Lancaster. Lord George Cavendish the elder, whose property it is, was so obliging as to put it into my hands, as a curiosity not unworthy the notice of this Society. It is about nine inches long, and half an inch thick in the middle; one end, formed like our common hatchet, with a sharp edge, is 5 inches broad; from this end it tapers on both sides, gradually, to the other end, which is not above 1½ inch broad, and is formed also with a sharp edge. It is for the most part finely polished, and covered with a beautiful patina, except where it has been injured by rust. It weighs two pounds, five ounces. In some respects it is similar to those instruments, called Celts, which have been found in great numbers in various parts of this island, and figured and described by various authors. These, in general,

* Pl. VII. Fig. 1.

have

have had one end sharp, as this has ; but the other has been formed into a kind of groove, or socket, to fix a handle in ; and some have a loop annexed to them ; but this is destitute of every thing of that kind, and seems intended to have been held in the hand only for use, whatever that use might have been ; for there can be no doubt, but that, if a handle of any kind had been necessary, the workmen who formed this, could as easily have formed it with one, or with a conveniency to fasten one to it. The learned antiquaries who have seen and considered these Celts, have differed much as to the uses for which they were designed.

MR. THORESBY, who had several that were found near Bramham-moor, in Yorkshire, supposes them to have been the heads of spears, or walking staves, of the civilized Britons [a]. Mr. Hearne rejects this opinion ; and, after proving, by various arguments, that they were not military arms of the Britons, Saxons, or Danes, he gives it as his opinion, that they were chissels used by the Romans, for cutting and polishing the stones they used for their works in this island [b].

THE learned and ingenious Dr. Borlase, in his *Antiquities of Cornwall*, has figured and described a great variety of these [c], among which, N° 5, very nearly resembles that I have now exhibited. He rejects Hearne's opinion, of their having been Roman chissels for working of stone ; and adopts Thoresby's, of their having been the heads of offensive weapons, originally indeed of British invention and fabrick, but afterwards improved and used by the Provincial Romans, as well as Britons.

[a] Letter to Mr. Hearne, in the Appendix to the first volume of Leland's *Itinerary*.

[b] *Ibid.*—Mr. Whitaker adopts a middle opinion, and affirms them to have been the heads of light battle axes. *Hist. of Manchester*, p. 14. 4to. edition.

[c] Plate XX. p. 262. Second Edition.

I MUST crave leave to differ from this learned writer. He saw plainly enough, that, as heads of offensive weapons, they were too awkward to have been invented and fashioned by the Romans; and, at the same time, that they were too correct and shapely to have been the work of the Britons, before the Julian invasion. Yet, as they have been often found in Roman stations, accompanied with Roman coins, he supposes them to have been of Roman workmanship, after the old British models. But I am not convinced, by the reasons he has assigned, that they should be called weapons, rather than chissels. One of his principal reasons is, that the metal is too soft, and improper for the latter purpose; a reason that would hold good against its being employed in military weapons, supposing that iron was then as easily procured, or as easily worked, which we have no reason to suppose was the case, from the very small quantity of weapons or instruments, and utensils of that metal, compared with those that are found of brass. It also appears from these instruments, and from antique swords, and other weapons found of brass, that the ancients had an art of tempering and hardening this metal, to a greater degree than is done at present, or perhaps than is necessary to be done.

BUT Dr. Borlase gives another reason, why these Celts should be esteemed weapons, rather than chissels for cutting stones. He observes, that some of them found in a stone-quarry, in Yorkshire, had cases exactly fitted to them, and then exultingly asks, why cases? Doubtless, says he, for the same reason, as those that were found wrapt up in linen [*d*], to preserve the keen-

[*d*] "There was found of late yeres syns spere heddes, axis for warre and
"swerdes of coper wrapped up in *lymed* scants perished nere the mount in S.
"Hilaries paroch in tynne works." Leland's Itin. III. p. 5.

Amongst the great variety and number found since Leland's time, it does not appear that any were wrapped in Linen.

nefs

ness of the edge; whereas chisfels, for the working of stone, needed not to have been so constantly sheathed.

THE circumstance of the cases is indeed a remarkable one; and I am happy to have it in my power to lay one of these Celts before the Society, with its brass case, so exactly fitted, as if it was the mold in which the instrument was cast. It is the property of our worthy member Mr. Bartlett *, and is the more worth attending to, as I do not remember, in any book whatever, to have seen any such cases figured or described. I suppose this may have been one of those which Mr. Lethicullier, in his letter quoted by Dr. Borlase, p. 265, mentions to have been found in a stone-quarry, in Yorkshire, many of which had cases exactly fitted to them. But surely this very circumstance, of their having been found in a stone-quarry, should have inclined Dr. Borlase to have decided less peremptorily against their having been intended for the cutting of stone. With regard to N° 5, figured in his plate (which very nearly resembles the large one now exhibited) he himself seems puzzled how to make a spear-head of it: yet is unwilling to give it up as such, or to guess at any other use to which it might have been appropriated. When Mr. Hearne supposed these Celts to have been chisfels, he had then only seen such as this now produced, in its case, with a socket and loop. Had he chanced to have seen any of the size and shape of the larger one now before us, I believe he would then have thought his conjecture established beyond all doubt. For my own part, I will go no farther than to express my opinion, that this large Celt, being manifestly designed to be held in the hand only, seems much better adapted to the chipping of stone, than to any other use which has hitherto been found out for it; but,

* See Plate VII. where fig. 2 and 3 are the outer and inner view of the most perfect side of the case. Fig. 4. the other side broken; fig. 5, the Celt itself.

whether

whether the smaller one contained in the case, or the other figured and described by Dr. Borlase and by various other writers, were designed for the same purpose, I will not take upon me to assert.

May 30, 1776.

SINCE the account delivered in of the Celts at the last meeting, I have seen the new volume of Dr. Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum*, lately published, in which I find the ninth plate composed of a great variety of Celts; among which, is one exactly similar to the smaller one, with its case, or matrix, exhibited to the Society: no description or account of any of these, is given in the volume; but upon examining the minute book of the Society for the year 1724, I find a discourse of Dr. Stukeley's on the use of these brass cast instruments, called Celts, was read to the Society on the 26th of February; in which he undertakes to shew that they were British, and appertaining to the Druids; that they were fixed occasionally on the end of their staves, to cut off the boughs of oak and mistletoe; but that, when not made use of for these purposes, they put them into their pouches, or hung them to their girdles, by the little ring or loop; and, to shew the method of using them, he had prepared a stick, adapted to the fastening the different sorts. Dr. Stukeley's idea of all these instruments was, that they were used by the Druids to cut branches of trees with. He distinguishes them into two sorts, which he calls the *recipient* and the *received*. The first he describes as hollow, to be put on the end of a staff: the other to be put into a nich sawn at the end of a staff, and used by pushing forward or striking upwards: he supposes the ring was to hang them up by. Mr. Warburton told him, that a bushel of these instruments, each enclosed in a brass

brass mold, or case, was found, in the year 1719, at Brough on the Humber; one of which he gave the Doctor, who shewed it to the Society of Antiquaries, 1759, accompanying it with another dissertation; in which he accounts for these cases, as for the linen in which some were found wrapt [e], from the sanctity of the metal, which made them prefer it to iron, though more common; and from their thus laying them by, as he expresses it, when they embraced christianity. Out of the metal of some of these celtic instruments found in Kew gardens, Dr. Stukeley proceeds to inform us, that lord Bathurst had some knife-handles made, which looked like gold; and hence the Doctor is led to conclude that, by the golden sickle, which Pliny says the Druids used in cutting milletoe [f], such an instrument as the *Celt* is to be understood. By Mr. A. Gordon, he was informed of a bushel of Celts being found in a Scotch moss, and by Dr. Wilson, bishop of Man, that they were often found in that island. In the library at Manchester, he saw several which had been dug up in the moors thereabouts. Mr. Denman, a brass-founder, told him of three brass Celts of whitish metal dug up very low in digging the foundations of

[d] See before the quotation from Leland.

[f] "Sacerdos candida vestis cultus arborem scandit, falce aurea demetit." *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 96. Query, if we should not read *aerea* instead of *aurea*? Thus Virgil,

Falcibus & messae ad lunam quaeruntur ahenis
Pubentes herbae.

Aen. iv. 513.

Mr. Pennant, in his *Scotch Tour*, Part II. p. 241. mentions a brazen Celt finely gilt, and observes, that this embellishment intimates, that these instruments were not for mechanic uses, but probably the heads of javelins, or insign staffs. In the third volume of the *Archaeologia*, p. 356. an account is given of some old swords found in Ireland, made of a metal which is of such a texture, as takes an exquisitely fine polish, and in its color, exhibits more of the color of gold, than of brass or copper. It is not impossible, that the ingenious traveller may have mistaken such an appearance for gilding in the Celt that was shewn to him.

West-

Westminster bridge. But amongst all these great varieties which he had mentioned and described, it does not appear that he had seen such a shaped instrument as this found at Gleaston castle, nor does he seem to have known or heard of any that had been found out of this island.

THE count de Caylus has exhibited one exactly similar, which he says was found at Herculaneum [g]. Neither of these could ever have been fastened to a handle, but must have been held in the hand only; and therefore, if they were appropriated to sacred uses, which superstition, with regard to brass instruments, seems to have prevailed long after the introduction and use of iron [h], why may we not suppose, that they were applied to the taking-off the skins of the victims? After all, I own myself not satisfied with the accounts that have been given of these odd instruments by Mr. Thoresby, Mr. Hearne, Dr. Stukeley, and Dr. Borlase; and wish that, what I have exhibited and collected on the subject, may afford hints to any of the learned members of this Society, for some more plausible conjectures concerning their use, than I think have yet appeared.

[g] *Recueil d'antiquités*, vol. II. p. 318. See a copy of this in pl. VIII.

[h] Thus Virgil, as quoted before, in the tragical composition of Dido's funeral pile, manifestly distinguishes the purpose to which brass was appropriated, after the invention and common use of iron, of which he speaks continually. See in Macrob. Sat. v. 19. a curious criticism on this passage, pointing out a similar one in a tragedy of Sophocles called *Philoctetes*, now lost, in which Medea is represented cutting roots and herbs for her enchanted caldron, with a brazen knife. Dr. Stukeley has engraved in his plate with the Celts, what he calls in his Dissertation *sacrificing knives*, but what are in reality spear heads, like that hereaftermentioned found in the Isle of Wight.

Fig 1



Fig 2



Fig 3

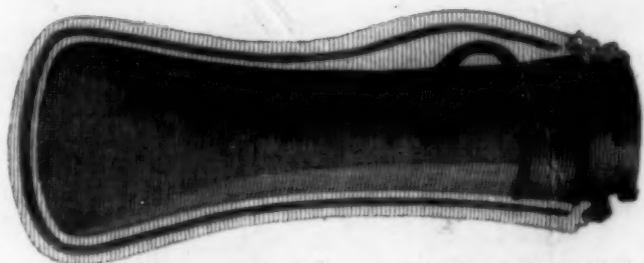


Fig 4

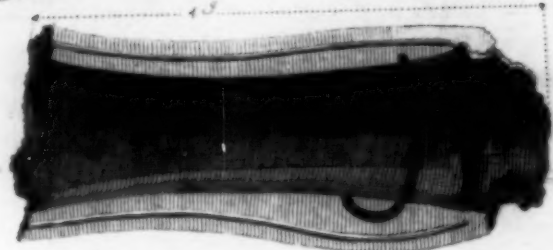
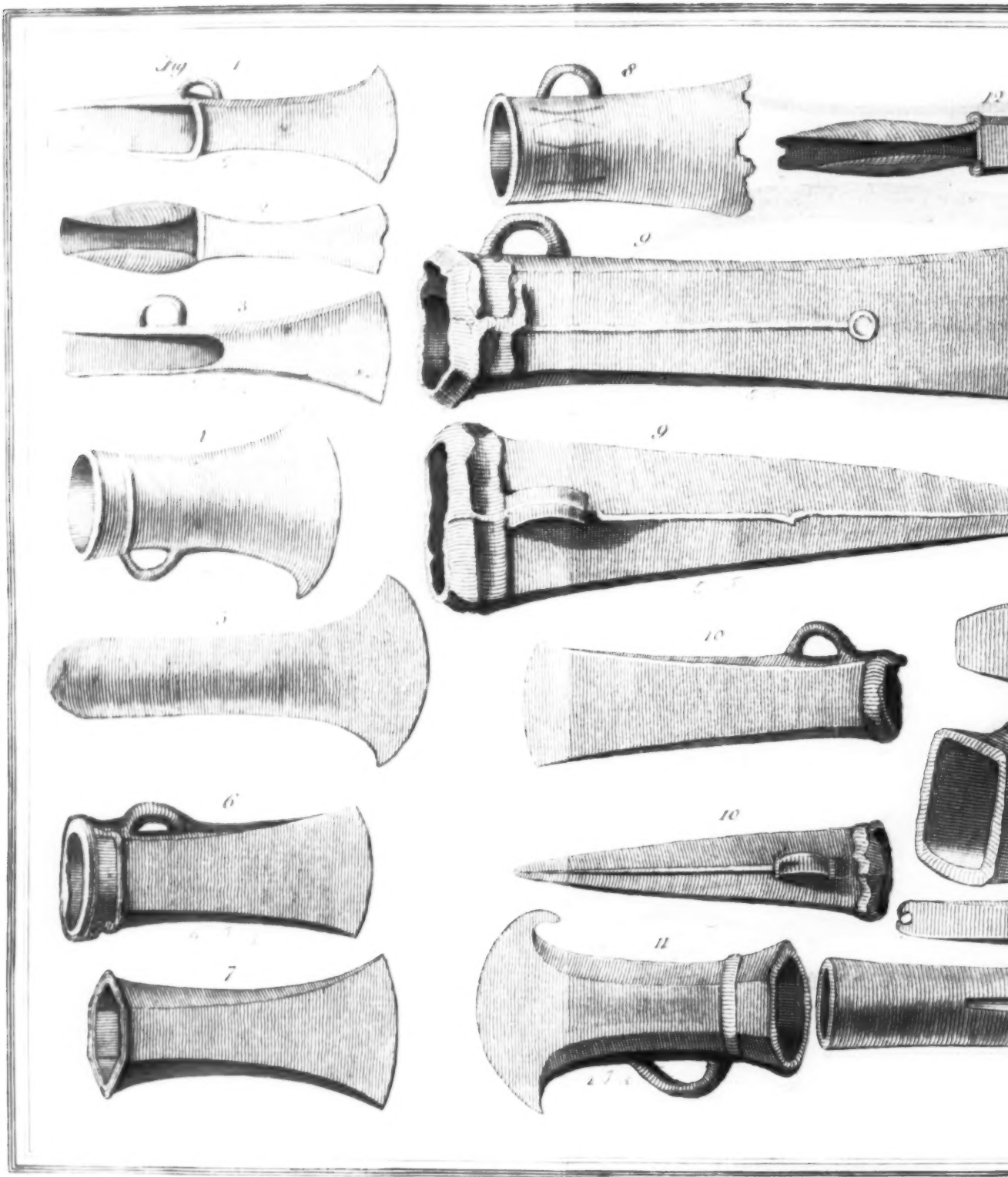
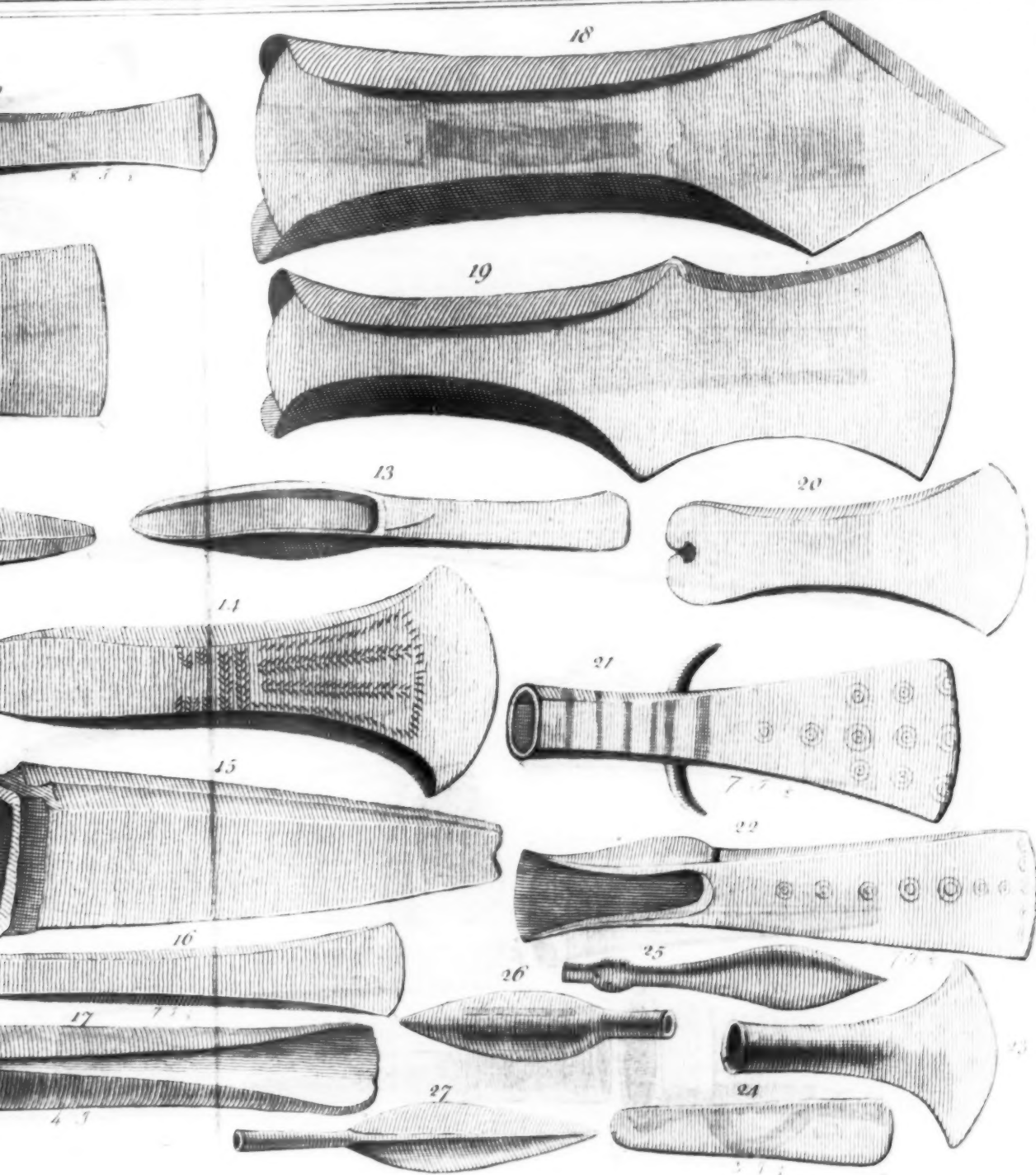


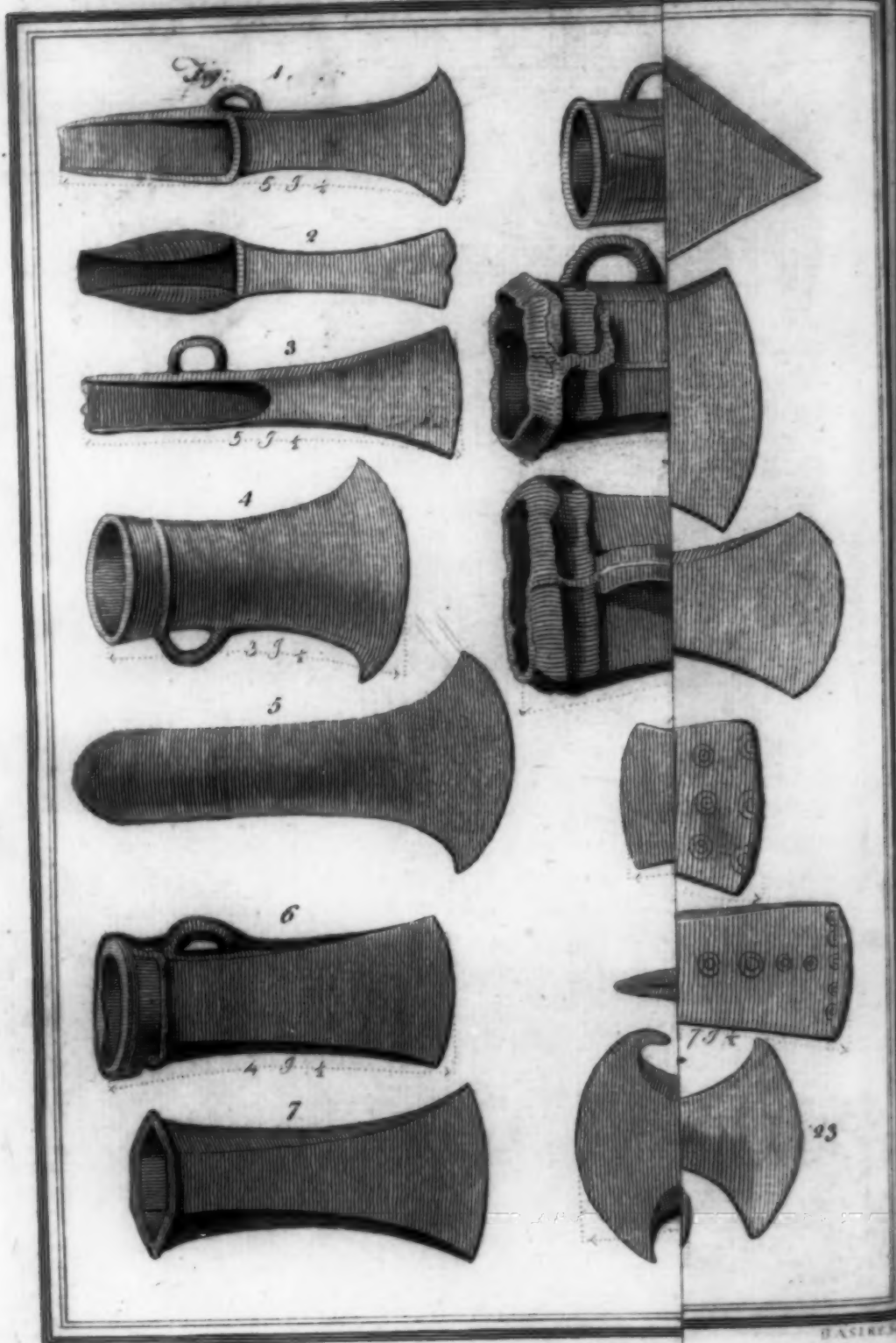
Fig 5











* * To the varieties already engraved, are here added several others from the minutes of the Society, with a short account of them, and of some others exhibited to the Society, but whose likenesses have been engraved elsewhere.

PL. VIII. N° 1. was found 1717, at *Siretton*, c. Stafford, the antient *Pennocrucium*, and shewn 1726 [i]. See Plot Staff. pl. XXXIII. 1.

N° 2. was found near *Tintot-top*, in Clydesdale. It has no stop in the middle, but both cheeks; is broad and retained its sharpness [4]. Gordon's two, pl. L. 1. 6. were fastened on in nearly the same manner.

N° 3. was found in Lancashire, and exhibited by the Rev. Dr. Birch, 1737 [1]. One like it is in Gordon's Itin. Sept. pl. L. fig. 4, and Plott's Staffordshire, pl. XXXIII. fig. 5. Compare Borlase, fig. 3.

N° 4. is one of the more common shape, found with 40 more, 20 swords, and 16 spear-heads of different patterns, (two of them here engraved, fig. 25, 26.) at *Altwic* castle, by a workman employed to cut stones to make windows for the castle, and shewn by Roger Gale, esq; 1726 [m].

N° 5. is from the Isle of *Wight*. A farmer widening a marle pit, on a hill about the middle of the island, called *Arreton Down*, in the parish of *Arreton*, in the manor of *Haseley*, on the estate of Richard Fleming, esq; found a number of these instruments ranged in regular order, and many spear-heads, about a foot deep, on the brow of the hill, about 200 yards from the foot of an entrenchment, supposed to be Roman. At some distance on the same hill, are two large barrows, which have been found to contain ashes and burnt bones, the remains of the people that used these weapons. Benjamin Cooke, esq; who communicated them to Mr. Collinson, 1735, concurs with him in granting that they were Gaulish weapons, used by the Roman auxiliaries, and assigns them to the time of the emperor Claudius. He calls

[i] Min. I. 203.

[4] L. 117.

[1] Ill. 56.

[m] L. 192.

them axes; and adds, that he put a handle to them on the authority of Homer:

Ἀξίνην εὐχαλκεον, ἐλαίῳ ἀμφὶ πέλκεα—

Il. xiii. 612.

and from a seal, which carried the face of real antiquity, in which he had observed such an instrument. Whether this be the *Amazonia securis*, mentioned by Horace [n], says he, let the learned judge [o]. One of the spear-heads, found at the same time, is also exhibited in the plate, fig. 27.

N° 6, 7. found on *Earsley* common, about 12 miles N. W. from York, May 1735. Near a hundred of them were discovered by persons digging there, with a quantity of cinders, and several lumps of the same metal; from whence it is conjectured, there might have been at this place a furnace for casting them. Another of them resembles the second in Stukeley's plate, from Windfor [p].

THE celt found, with four or five others, in a wood at *Osmond'sbick* near *Bramham moor* 1709, and engraved in Hearne's edition of Leland's Itinerary I. p. 119, was given to Mr. Bartlet in 1739, by Sir Walter Calverley, bart.

N° 8. found with 30 more, near *Reepham*, Norfolk, in a deep clay, shewn by Mr. Erasmus Earle, 1747 [q].

N° 9 and 10. are two views of two celts, found with a great many more in the New Forest, and presented to Mr. Gough by John Howard, esq; F. R. S. who then lived near Lymington. The sockets are square within.

N° 11. another larger nearly of the same shape, with N° 3. three inches $\frac{1}{2}$ long, was bought at Mr. Henry Baker's sale by Mr. Gough; as was N° 17, which has all the appearance of a modern gouge.

N° 12. is from Mr. Bartlet's collection, a variation of N° 2.

[n] Od. IV. iv. 20.

[o] Min. II. 128. 284.

[p] Min. II. 102. Mr. Lechicullier's letter to Dr. Borlase, Antiquities of Cornwall. p. 283. Comp. N° 7. with Borl. fig. 1.

[q] Min. V. 171. Compare Borlase, fig. 2.

N^o 13, 14, 15. are copied from drawings by Dr. Stukeley in Mr. Gough's possession. They are said to have been the property of Sir Hans Sloane; and N^o 14. to have been found in Long barrow at Stonehenge.

N^o 16. is from Mr. Bartlet's collection.

N^o 18, 19. are from the Museum Moscardi III. 174. where they are called two very antient bronzes, and heads of two great arrows thrown out of a catapulta [r], which on the authority of Pliny, N. H. VII. 56. he says were invented by the Scythians. One nearly similar to them is figured and described by Sir Robert Sibbald in his Fifeshire, who calls it a brass ax found in a cairn of stones. Dr. Plott gives one, Staff. pl. XXXIII. 3. which he compares with Moscardi's, and follows his idea of them. p. 403.

Mr. Bertie gave the Spalding Society 1741, an account of two broad swords, one sharp-pointed sword, a spear point, a staff-bottom with a celt or chissel, all of fine tough brass, found in a bundle together, at Ambleside, that summer, which Maurice Johnson took to be British because the Romans had the use of iron long before their first descent on this island, and had disused brass for such weapons, and because the Tribunes' *parazonia* were the only Roman broad swords, and he thinks the swords in his possession dug up between Spalding and Stamford, short stiff-stabbing weapons of steel, belonged to the Romans under Lollius Urbicus or D. Carus, who left their names to bridges, channels and forts in these parts.

Mr. Brander shewed, 1750, a celt with an eye to it, and a piece of long triangular brass, found in the same decayed earthen pot, with 14 or 15 more of each sort, at *Hinton* near Christchurch, Hants. The brass bars seemed to be pieces of the metal out of which the celts were cast [s]. The same gentleman has two masses of native copper found with some celts in Norfolk.

[r] Sono dunque questi disegni tratti da due miei antichissimi bronzi, i quali hanno servito alla cima de due grossimi dardi che dalla forza di una machina da guerra chiamata catapulta erano gettati. Mus. Moscardo. Padova 1656, fol. 305.

[s] Min. VI. 78.

MR. ARDEON gave Mr. Baker, 1759, an account of upwards of 10lb wt. of these instruments being found in a ditch by some children, at *Helsdon-hall*, near Norwich. They were of several kinds; besides some pieces of copper, which appeared to have been broken off in casting: most of them are of the usual form, with a socket and ear; and one has only a groove on each side. Some years before he adds, a large quantity of them was found in a gravel-pit, in Hackford-hall grounds, near Reepham in Norfolk, with various other pieces of brass, which he did not see [r]. At *Danbury* in Essex, about 22 years since, were found some brass celts; and at *Fisfield* in the same county, 1749, a large quantity of metal for casting these instruments; several of which, with 50lb. of metal, were sent by the late earl Tilney to Mr. Lethieullier, who gave some of both to Dr. Borlase: and at the same time informed him, that he had some of the same instruments from Scotland, Wales, New Forest in Hampshire, and other places in Britain [u].

SIR ROBERT SIBBALD, at the end of his "Miscellanea Eruditee Antiquitatis," figures a celt in his 3d plate, and calls it two sides *vasculi Romani acnei quadrilateri*.

MR. ROWLAND, p. 85, has published some which it is impossible to reduce to any known pattern, found near the place where the Romans made their attack on the Britains in Anglesea. He calls these *jacula amentata*, meant to sling off from a long handle by a long strap, as Virgil describes the *Cateia* of the Gauls (*Æn.* vii. 741.) He describes others (p. 86.) like Gordon's and N° 3.

ONE, like the first in Stukeley's plate, was found at *the Brill* near *Borstal*, c. Bucks [w].

COUNT CAYLUS, in his *Antiquities*, has engraved one like these last, found with 13 more under a single stone [x], of a kind with

[r] Min. VIII. 160. [u] Borlase, *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 284. [w] Min. I. 92.

[x] *Sous un de ces espaces de roche qu'on nomme solitaires, qui sont plus ou moins enfoncés dans la terre, & dont ce canton est semé.* Mr. Strange describes one found under a supposed druid altar near *Keven-hir-vyniedd*, on the borders of Brecknockshire. *Archæol.* IV. 24. pl. I. fig. 6.

which that quarter abounds, 12 leagues from Paris, on the road from Versailles to Houdan; some of the number appeared never to have been used, (tom. II. pl. 92. f. 2.) He has given two more from *Herculaneum* [y]; (pl. 93. f. 2. and 94. f. 1.) copied here fig. 21, 22. one, a singular one, with 2 *stops* or *horns* in it. These have a kind of ornament like annulets, insculpt on their surface. Fig. 4. pl. XCII. copied here, fig. 30. comes likewise from *Herculaneum*, and resembles that from Wight, N° 6,) except in the place for the handle, and the hole at top. His fig. 3. pl. XCII. resembles N° 11, and many of this sort, but smaller, were lately found at Lyons. The Count observes, that these instruments, with and without rings, are common in France, and are called *Gallie Hatchets*. He is for referring them to domestic use, as chissels, with handles fitted into them perpendicularly; but observes, that whether employed for domestic or military purposes, they cannot be of much service, for want of strength [z].

BISHOP Lyttelton shewed, 1762, from bishop Pococke, a celt of finer metal than the English, shaped like an ox's head, about 5½ in. long, ½ broad at the broadest, and 1¼ at the smallest end, without a groove, and the small end incapable of being fitted to an helve, found, with many more, in Tipperary.

MR. Mellish exhibited, 1766, some old British instruments of brass or mixed metal, found in the isle of Axholme, Lincolnshire, the property of Mr. Stovin, being a very fair ground celt, a spear-head, and 2 lances.

MR. Hutchins, in a letter to bishop Lyttelton, 1768, describes a celt found in an old wall, in Purbeck, different from what he had ever seen; the socket, into which the handle was to be inserted, being *double*, or *divided by a partition*.

DR. Gower exhibited, 1775, a perfect celt, with a groove on each side, and ground to a fine edge, which was lately found in cleaning Cranmore pond in Berkshire [a].

[y] Dr. Borlase was not apprized of this when he pronounced these instruments not Roman, because none such had been found in *Herculaneum*. p. 282.

[z] P. 318—321. 333.

[a] Min. XIV. 135.

Dr.

Dr. Borlase has engraved, pl. XXVIII. fig. 9, 10, a *stone* celt, found in Cornwall, which approaches very near to the flint hatchets of the Indian and Northern nations, and seems to have furnished the first idea of the metal celts. Several such have been found at Oldbury near Atherton; engraved in Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 1081, 2d edition: such are also frequent in Orkney.

N^o 23. is of a very different form; yet called a celt by the late worthy president, bishop Lyttelton, who exhibited it, 1743. It was found on *Meon-hill*, near Camden, in Gloucestershire, on the spot where Roman fortifications are said to be [b]. Such another is in Plott's Staffordshire, pl. XXXIII. fig. 7: and Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, pl. XX. fig. 8.

N^o 24. is a flat brass instrument, found at *Cunningley* near Skipton, Yorkshire, 1772, and now in the possession of Mr. Bartlet.

A small celt was among the many Roman antiquities found on Mr. Brereton's lands at *Ledbrook*, in the middle of the town of Old Flint. Another in his possession makes fig. 1. pl. IX. The other twelve in the same plate are engraved from Mr. Brander's cabinet, rather on account of the variation in their ornaments than in their shape. Fig. 8. has two rude marks like W's inscribed on it; and with fig. 9. is probably the same as fig. 9. in pl. VIII.

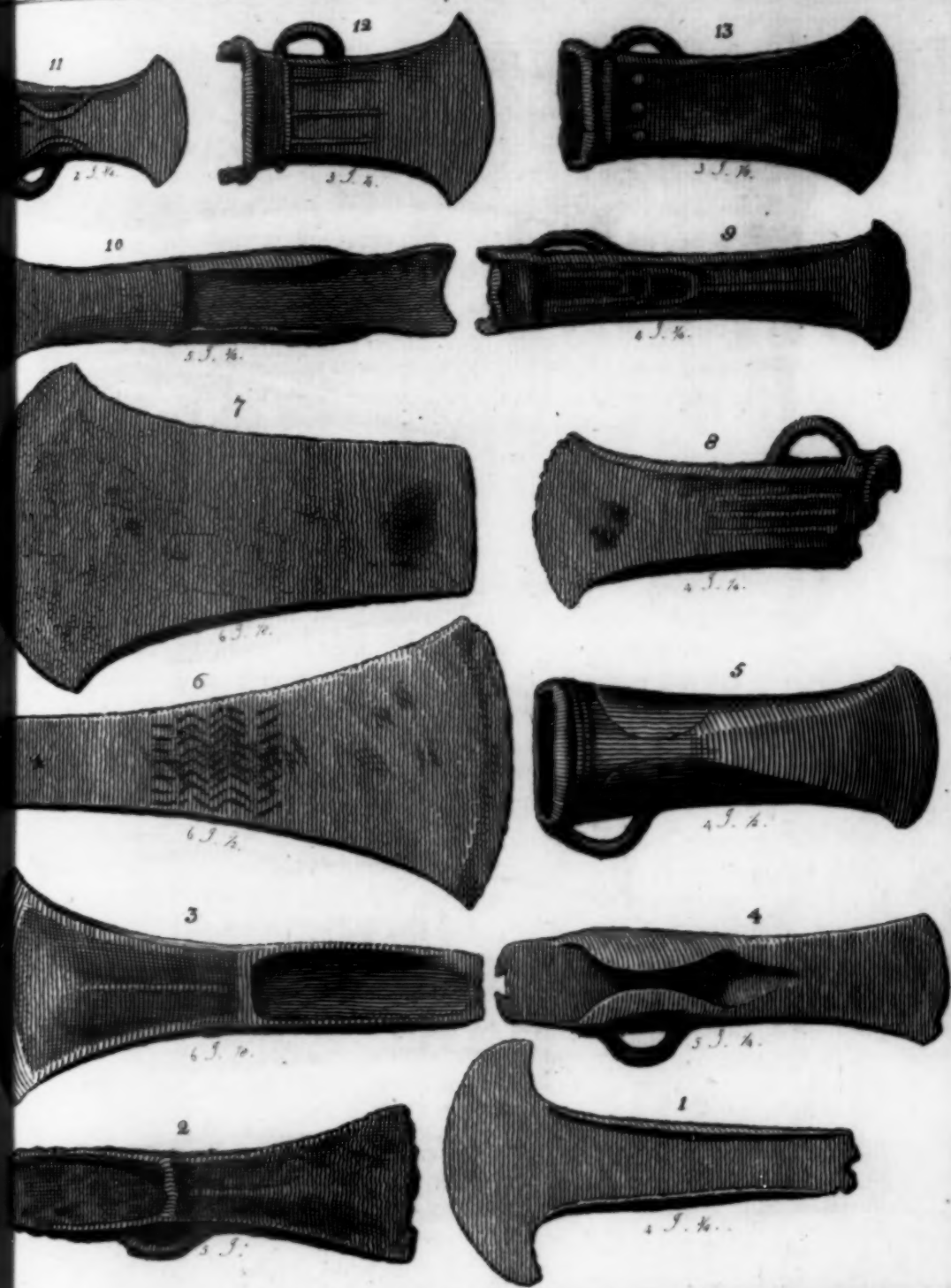
Mr. Tunstall, Nov. 14, 1776, shewed a celt found in Spain on a mountain, between Llamas del Mauro & Carcalai, about 12 leagues South of Oviedo, 1767, communicated from Don Diego de Sierra, perpetual secretary of the royal academy of Valladolid.

PLATE X. is composed of varieties from Sir William Hamilton's collection in the British Museum. Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. are different views of the same instrument, numbered in its place 159. which serves to shew the conformity between the *Celt* and *Hatchet*, as the rest express its *Chisel*-like form.

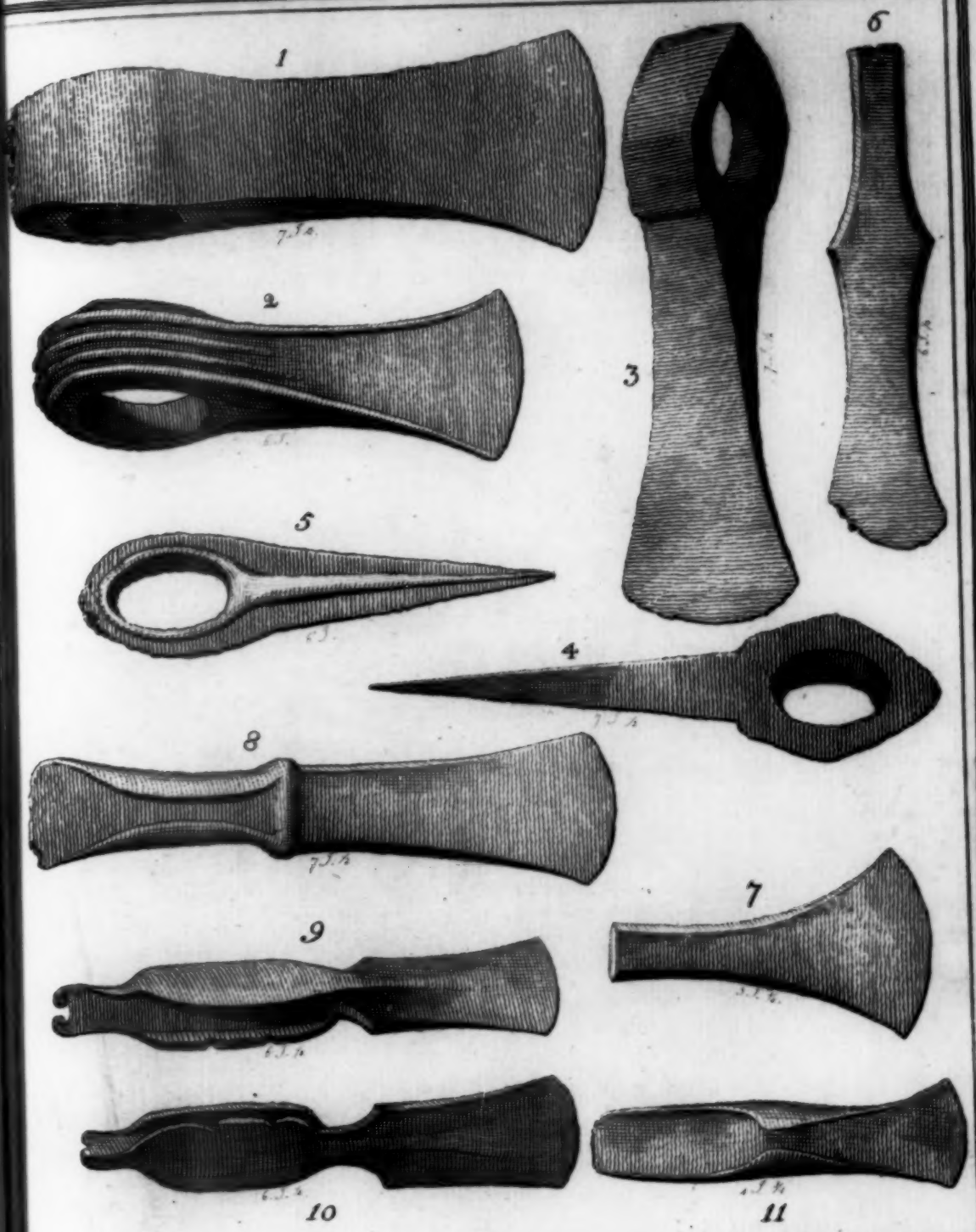
FIG. 6, 7, 8. 11. are numbered 164. Fig. 9, 10. are two views of N^o 164, and resemble Mr. Brander's fig. 4. and 10.

[d] Min. IV. 183.

XI. Obser-







XI. Observations on Patriarchal Customs and Manners. By the Hon. Daines Barrington.

Read June 13, 1776.

HAVING read the book of Genesis lately with attention, I have formed a short sketch of the patriarchal customs and manners, some of which, and more particularly what relates to their marriages, I never could at all comprehend from the perusal of detached chapters; it need scarcely be observed also that such customs and manners must in many respects differ from those of their descendants, when they became a considerable nation, and lived in cities.

A PATRIARCH pitched his tents where the ground was unoccupied by others; or, if occupied, where he was permitted to purchase; as in the instance of Jacob's procuring land from the children of Hamor^[a], for an hundred pieces of money.

As the first of these patriarchs (Abraham) had 318 trained servants, when he assisted his nephew Lot^[b]; if we multiply

[a] Gen. xxxiii. 19.

[b] xiv. 14.

318 by 5, according to the common rule for giving the number of *souls*, there were probably 1590 in this patriarchal family: Esau also meets Jacob with 400 men [c].

THEIR cattle consisted of camels, cows, asses, sheep, and goats; but I do not find any mention of the horse in the book of Genesis, except of the horsemen which came from Egypt [d] with Joseph, when he is to bury Jacob; and, indeed, this quadruped consumed too much provender [e], to be easily furnished in such a country as the land of Canaan; besides the camel was a much more convenient beast of burthen, in their slow journies over tracts of sultry deserts.

THE distance to which they removed must have depended upon their finding proper subsistence for themselves and their cattle, whilst the first thing necessary, when they had fixed their settlement [f], was to dig wells; which act of labour established their property in the land that was contiguous.

THESE wells were of different kinds, and were most valuable if an ebullition of the water appeared, when they are described as *living waters*; at least such is the expression in the Septuagint [g], though not in our version.

[c] Gen. xxxiii. 1.

[d] l. 9.

[e] Dr. Shaw observes that the camel requires but little provender in proportion to its bulk.

[f] We sometimes find mention of towns in the book of Genesis, with regard to which no particulars appear, but that the more solemn and public business was transacted in the gate of the city, Gen. xxiii. 18. and that the houses had doors which might be fastened, as also windows, Gen. xviii.—xxvi. 8. It is stated indeed that the sons of Ishmael had not only towns, but *castles*. Gen. xxv. 16. The Septuagint however *ρουσ σκημας και επαυλας*; and Montanus's literal version from the Hebrew, "*in suis oppidis & palatiis*;" or *per villas suas & palatia sua*."

[g] *ὕδατος ζωντος*. Gen. xxi. 19.

SOME

SOME of these wells had steps to go down into them, and had besides a trough to receive the water when brought up in the pitchers; as, otherwise, there would not have been a sufficient quantity for the larger cattle, and particularly the camels: it should seem also, that this labour was imposed upon the women, who chose the cool of the evening for this purpose, and carried their pitchers on their shoulders [b]; which minute circumstance is mentioned, because the painters, in representing subjects from the patriarchal history, often offend against the *costumi* [c]. For the same reason, it may not be improper to observe, that the pitcher, or vessel to receive the water, was probably composed of a skin, or bladder, as Hagar carries the water in *αρνα υδατος* [d], according to the Septuagint, though it is rendered in our version, *a bottle*.

[b] See Gen. xxiv. and Exod. ii. 16.

[c] It may not be improper likewise for the same reason, to state the few particulars which can be gleaned, with regard to their dress: and first with regard to that of their men:

Their arms and neck were naked, as appears by Rebecca's supplying Jacob with the skins of kids to cover those parts. Judah hath a *signet*, or rather ring (*סודאן*), bracelets, and staff. Gen. xxxviii. 18. Jacob's household also wore ear-rings. Gen. xxxv. 4.

As to that of the women, Jewels of gold and jewels of silver and raiment are presented to Rebecca by Abraham's servant. Gen. xxiv. 7. but the only part of dress more peculiar to the women is the *vail*. This is twice mentioned as being used by Rebecca and Tamar; and is rendered by the same word in all versions in both these instances. Our word *vail* hath a confined sense; *διεσπερ* and *velamentum* are more general. It is impossible however that Rebecca's *διεσπερ* could have been the same with Tamar's, for a vail covering the face is stated to be peculiar to harlots. I therefore rather understand that Rebecca, upon seeing her destined husband, lights off her camel to put on a clean habit, and appear as smart as possible. As for raising a vail on approaching a man, it must be remembered she had travelled with Abraham's servant.

[d] Gen. xxi. 14.

OTHER wells were covered with a large stone, which required some strength to remove it [f], and prevented the sand or ordure from being blown into the well, as also accidents to the cattle, or the evaporation of this so precious an element in so parched a country. Other wells again had a wall round them, to which they planted vines [m]. These wells being so valuable, sometimes occasioned contentions between the herdsmen, in which it does not appear what arms were used, but it should seem that the bow and *thrusting* sword were their only weapons in war, and that the killing with *the edge* of the sword, Gen. xxxiv. 26. is therefore improper, as the Septuagint expression is *εν σωματι μαχαίρας*, and the literal translation from the Hebrew is *in ore gladii*. Perhaps the bow is the most ancient of these weapons, as it is alluded to in the covenant with Noah. The husband and his wives lived in separate tents, or houses; as Isaac goes into that of his mother Sarah, after her death [n], and three tents are searched for the images, viz. Jacob's, Leah's, and Rachel's [o]: in process of time also booths were built for their cattle, from which circumstance Jacob names a place [p].

THE patriarch himself seems not to have been occupied in any manual labour, but is often represented as sitting before the door of his tent [q], or under the shade of a tree [r], with a truly

[f] Gen. xxix. 3.

[m] xlix. 42.

[n] xxiv.

[o] xxxi. 33.

[p] xxiii. 17.

[q] xviii. 1. If in a city before the gate, Gen. xix. 1.

[r] The first verse of the 18th chapter of Genesis, in the English version, mentions, that God appeared to Abraham in the plain of *Mamre*; but the Septuagint states it to have happened *πρὸς τὴν σπηλιὰν τῆς Μαρρῆς*; and it is clear that the Septuagint is right in this particular, because both the 4th and 8th verse of the same

truly Asiatic indolence, as upon the arrival of a stranger, he is said to *lift up his eyes and see*: which very particular expression seems to imply an effort in such an act. In the same manner, Gen. xxix. 1. is translated in our version, "*Jacob went on his journey.*" In the Septuagint, however, it runs, "*καὶ ἀΐσας τὰς πόδας ἐπορεύθη*"; with which Montanus's literal version from the Hebrew agrees, "*sustulit pedes suos, & ivit.*"

WHEN the stranger arrives, he is received with great courtesy and hospitality; for Abraham addresses the angels (whom he doth not know to be so) as his *Lords*, and styles himself *their servant*. They are then invited to wash their feet, whilst Sarah prepares the bread, and Abraham procures a calf, butter, and milk [1] for them, which they eat under the shade of a tree, and Abraham waits upon them during their repast [2]. If the stranger travelled with cattle, they were also provided with straw and provender [3].

THE patriarch's own cattle were kept either by his sons, or servants, who attended them day and night; at least, it was a

same chapter refer to *the Tree*. I am informed also that the word used in the Hebrew confirms the Septuagint translation, at least in its being *a grove of oaks*. Shade was so necessary in the promised land, that Abraham plants a grove at Beer-sheba. Gen. xxi. 33.

[1] It is supposed that the patriarchal table did not produce many more varieties. As for birds and fish, it requires much ingenuity to catch them; and as for the latter, they could not be procured but in the neighbourhood of the Jordan, which I think is never described as containing any great plenty of fish: some indeed were to be found in their larger lakes, or as they are called *seas*. As for their venison, it seems to have consisted chiefly of wild goats, as Isaac is imposed upon otherwise by dressing a kid for venison; which deceit could hardly be practised upon a modern alderman. It should seem also, from Gen. xxxi. 38. that they only eat the male sheep, the females being left to produce. As for their liquors, I find no mention of any others, but wine, water, and milk.

[2] Gen. xviii. 8.

[3] xiv. 25.

covenant between Laban and Jacob "that if any were stolen
"either by day or night, or destroyed by wild beasts, the shep-
"herd should be answerable for them [w]."

THESE servants became so either by being born within the patriarch's district [x], or were purchased for money; whilst some few engaged only for a term of years, as in the instance of Jacob and Laban. But those who could be most depended upon were the children of the patriarch himself, or their descendants; the increase of which was encouraged by every possible means (being their best wealth), and unhappy was the woman who did not bear a considerable number. The wife indeed having no fortune, was purchased by the husband [y] for this sole purpose, which if she did not answer, her disgrace was complete. Hence Rachel is dismissed with blessings and wishes for her fruitfulness [z], and says afterwards to her husband, "give me children or I shall die [a]:" hence God is supposed "both to open and shut her womb [b];" and upon bearing a child "God hath taken away her reproach." The belief that the Messiah might be descended from them, might possibly contribute also to this so very earnest desire of becoming a mother.

In their marriages (from the time of Isaac at least), it seems to have always been wished that the bride should live at a

[w] Gen. xxxi. 39.

[x] Abraham commits the whole care of his household and affairs to his eldest servant, when his two sons, Esau and Isaac, are both forty years of age.

[y] Thus Rachel and Leah are purchased, and Shechem offers for Dinah, "ask me never so much dowry and gift and I will give according as you shall say, but give me the damsel to wife." Gen. xxxiv. 10.

[z] Gen. xxiv. 6.

[a] xxx. 1.

[b] xx. 13.

distance from the patriarchal residence, but that she should be related, and particularly a first cousin [c].

THE first requisite probably arose from the danger of early incest in the patriarch's own family; and the second, from apprehensions of disagreement between the husband and wife, after the introduction of circumcision, which the wife might probably have opposed, when her new-born infant was but eight days old, unless she was in some measure descended from Abraham the introducer of this practice.

WE find accordingly that Ziporah, who was a Midianite, and married to Moses, had delayed this operation so long, that he is threatened with death by an angel; upon which the mother complies indeed, but reproaches Moses twice with being a bloody husband to her on this account [d]. Jacob's sons likewise for the same reason declare, that they will not marry the daughters of the Schechemites, till circumcision is submitted to by all the male inhabitants of the town of Shechem [e].

[c] When Esau therefore was married to Judith the daughter of Beeri the Hittite, it is stated to be a grief of mind unto Isaac and Rebecca. Gen. xxvi. 35. And hence Abraham makes his servant swear "that he will go into his own country, and to his own kindred, to procure a wife for Isaac." Gen. xxiv. 4. As the patriarchs so frequently ratify their promises by an oath, it may not be improper to observe, that the most solemn form was to raise the hand, and swear by the name of God. Gen. xiv. 22. xxi. 23. Abraham's servant indeed puts his hand under his master's thigh when he swears; but this I should suppose to arise from the eyes of the patriarch being so dim that he could not distinguish whether his servant raised his hand according to the common form, it being stated in the preceding verse, that "Abraham was old, and well stricken in age." Gen. xxiv. It should seem that Jacob's oath, *by the fear of his father Isaac*, was of a less solemn kind. Gen. xxxi. 53. And that of Joseph still less so when he says, *by the life of Pharash*, ye shall not go. Gen. xlii. 15. which was probably the common form in Egypt.

[d] Exod. iv. 26.

[e] Gen. xxxiv. 14—17.

It was allowed to marry at least two wives though sisters [f]; but as both of these might prove barren, we find that in the instance of Rachel and Leah, they received from their father two handmaids, in whom they continued to have such absolute property, that if they bestowed them upon their husbands in marriage, the children which they bore were in a manner considered as their own, whilst to make them more completely so, the handmaid was delivered upon the knees of her mistress: "Go in unto her, and she shall bear upon my knees, that I may have also children by her." Gen. xxx. It seems to me that what I have suggested is fairly to be inferred from these words; and I have been informed by a learned friend, that some years past it was not uncommon in many parts of England [g], for the grand-daughter to be delivered upon the knees not only of the grand-mother, but the grand-father. The husband often also places the wife upon his knees for this same purpose, amongst the lower class of peasants both in Prussia and Lapland.

THOUGH the handmaid's children were therefore considered as legitimate [h], yet she and her offspring seem to have continued under the power of the mistress, for Sarah insists upon Hagar being sent with her child into the desert, which Abraham cannot oppose, though he wishes to do so [i]; and such a maid is therefore sometimes stiled a *bond-woman* [k].

WHILST the mistress however was satisfied with her handmaid's behaviour, both she and her children were treated nearly

[f] As in the instance of Rachel and Leah.

[g] He mentioned Oxfordshire particularly.

[h] When Bilhah (Rachel's handmaid) hath a son by Jacob, Rachel says, "God hath given me a son." Gen. xxx. 3.

[i] Gen. xxi. 2.

[k] xxi. 10.

In the same manner as the wife and her children would have been. Thus Joseph the son of Rachel keeps sheep with the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah, (who were handmaids to Rachel and Leah) and the only reason given for Jacob's preferring Joseph is, that he was the son of his old age. The brothers also resent Joseph's conceiving from his dream, that he should have any superiority over them [l]. Thus Jacob likewise with his two wives and their handmaids, and his eleven sons, advance by themselves when he is approaching Esau under apprehensions that he shall not be well received, whilst he is preceded by other parts of his train, whose lives are not so precious to him [m].

It should seem, indeed, that there was some sort of distinction between the two sorts of marriage, as far as related to the mothers, though not as to the children [n], for it was a general law in all the countries adjacent to the promised land, that adultery with the wife of the more solemn marriage, should be punished with death [o]. But if the woman was not under such a contract, the princes of the East often placed her in their seraglio. By this I would allude to the instances of Sarah and Rebecca whilst in Egypt and Gerar; but the book of Genesis does not furnish an example of its being an equal crime to commit adultery with the wife's handmaid, after she had been given in marriage to the husband. On the contrary, Reuben lay with Bilhah, his mother Rachel's handmaid, which she had

[l] Gen. xxxvii. 8.

[m] xxxii. 22.

[n] The sons of a patriarch by his concubines were by no means upon the same footing, for Abraham sends his children by Keturah to the Eastward, whilst Isaac and Ishmael (his son by a handmaid) continue with their father, and afterwards join in burying him. Gen. xxv. 9.

[o] "Behold thou art but a dead man, for the woman which thou hast taken is another man's wife." Gen. xviii. 3.

given.

given in marriage to Jacob; nor does any punishment or reproof immediately follow, though the Septuagint adds this censure, *καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὴν ἀποκρίσιν αὐτῆς* [p].

To avoid however this offence of adultery with the wife of the more solemn marriage, if the patriarch removed to the dominions of a foreign prince, it seems to have not been uncommon to murder him, (for which the punishment was not probably so severe in the case of a stranger) as the woman was then become a widow and not a wife; by which most horrid evasion, the letter of the law seems to have been satisfied.

MURDER had indeed been forbid in the time of Noah; but this precept did not probably reach to countries which were not inhabited by his more immediate descendants; for when Abraham apprehends being murdered in Abimelech's kingdom on account of his wife Sarah, he gives it as a reason, "that the fear of God was not in this place [q];" by which I understand that the divine law against murder promulged to Noah had not been heard of, or at least was not observed in Abimelech's country, though it is very clear that adultery with Sarah (whilst she was wife of Abraham) would have been punished with death; and from another similar instance, that the same law prevailed in Egypt. Hence also Abimelech, when he is informed that Isaac is the husband of Rebecca, issues a proclamation for his protection [r].

As a wife was only respected for the number of children with which she or her handmaids increased the patriarchal family, the greatest injury she could receive, was the preventing her

[p] In support of what is added in the Septuagint, Jacob upon his death-bed reflects upon Reuben for this crime.

[q] Gen. xx. 2.

[r] xxvi. 2.

having the earliest opportunity of bearing legitimate children. Hence the daughter being at the father's disposal, Laban informs Jacob that he must not complain of Leah being imposed upon him instead of Rachel, because Leah was the elder sister, and therefore was not to lose a year of child-bearing; of which she was capable before her younger sister [1].

WHEN a wife was once removed from the family of one patriarch to another, she could not be returned without much trouble and inconvenience; besides which, as I have observed before, she was in reality purchased for the purpose of bearing children, and consequently whilst she was of a proper age, no time was to be lost in providing her with another husband (upon the death of the first) from the same family which had made the purchase; the next brother in succession being fixed upon for the second husband.

THIS appears most strongly in what is mentioned with regard to Tamar, who was first married to Er, the eldest of three brothers, then to Onan the second, and afterwards betrothed to Selah the third when he should be fully grown [1]. When this happens, Tamar thinks herself most highly injured by his not being immediately more solemnly married to her, which is the occasion of her losing the first opportunity of bearing children, and therefore she commits incest with her father-in-law, who acknowledges afterwards that he had been guilty of a greater sin in not completing the marriage between Tamar and Selah, than she had by adultery; for which otherwise he had ordered her to have been burnt. A disappointment of the same sort

[1] By the code of Gentoo laws, printed in 1776 by the East India Company, the younger sister is not permitted to be married till the elder is disposed of.

[1] Gen. xxxviii. The reason for this seems to have been, that a too early marriage might occasion his death, "least he die also as his brethren did," ver. 2.

occasioned the death of her second husband Onan, who seems to have declined having children by her, because he conceived at least, that Tamar was already pregnant by his elder brother Er [u].

BUT a still stronger instance of this supposed duty of bearing children, appears in the conduct of the two daughters of Lot, who commit *incest* [w] with their father from the same motives, nor do they incur any blame when the deceit is discovered; and I am informed by an able orientalist, that, the name of one of the sons, viz. *Moab*, signifies, *of or by my Father*; and of the other, viz. *Ammon* or *Ben-ammi*, *the son of my nearest kin*; from which it is very clear that they meant to perpetuate an honour, and not a disgrace to themselves or their children. Besides this, the two daughters concert a deliberate plan with each other for this purpose, assigning it as a reason that their father *was grown old* [x], and it cannot therefore be supposed to have arisen from the common inducements to incontinence. I cannot conclude what I have stated with regard to the patriarchal marriages, without observing, that though some of their usages in this respect may appear so very singular, and perhaps blamable according to our own institutions, yet it must be recollected, that no positive law of divine revelation was promulged till the decalogue, except the forbidding of murder in the time of Noah, and the covenant of

[u] "And Onan knew that the seed should not be his." Gen. xxxviii. 9. at least thus I understand this text.

[w] I thus express myself in compliance with the summary of contents prefixed to each chapter in our English version; it will appear however that the daughters of Lot did not conceive the act to be criminal, but, on the contrary, laudable, as they seem to have supposed that all the other inhabitants of the earth were destroyed.

[x] Gen. xix. 3.

circumcision. The patriarchs therefore accommodated their laws to their own very particular situation.

A PATRIARCH seems to have had the highest powers over his children and family; at least Lot offers his daughters to the Sodomites, and Abraham obliges his son " Ishmael, " together with all the men of his house, born in the house, " and bought with money of the stranger," to be circumcised [y]. Reuben moreover offers to deliver up his two sons to be slain, if he does not bring back Benjamin. [z]

THIS parental authority was much enforced by the father's being believed to have it in his power to confer either happiness or misery by his blessings or curses, which were therefore deferred till extreme old age, the eyes of both Isaac and Jacob being so dim that they cannot distinguish objects, when they pronounce their blessings on their children. The mother, however, does not appear to have had any such power, nor do we find any instance of a daughter being either blessed or cursed [a].

THE respect to the father during his life was such, that it should seem the child was not permitted to sit in his presence, from a very particular excuse which Rachel makes on the occasion [b]; whilst Jacob swears by *the fear* of his father Isaac [c]. i. e. by the fear he was under of his father's displeasure. Esau also declares that he will kill Jacob when

[y] Gen. xvii. 30.

[z] xlii. 37.

[a] Rebecca's mother and brother indeed hope she will be fruitful when she leaves them; but this is not the more solemn blessing of the dying patriarch; and indeed it seems to have been rather the good wishes of the brother, for the text runs, " thou art our sister." Gen. xxiv. 60. The blessing also was not fulfilled in the common way, for Rebecca was barren, and becomes at last pregnant by particular interposition.

[b] Gen. xxxi. 35.

[c] xxvii. 41.

Isaac dies, and Joseph's brethren apprehend he will revenge himself on the death of Jacob. Gen. xxxi. 42. and l. 15.

THE blessing or curse pronounced by the father, was a prophetic vision of what was to happen, and therefore could not be revoked or altered; for Isaac cannot change what he hath given Jacob reason to expect when his deceit is discovered; nor can Jacob be prevailed upon by Joseph to put his right hand upon his son Manasseh, because greater blessings were to come upon his younger brother Ephraim. It appears also from what hath been stated, that the blessing was given by the father's putting his right hand upon the head of the son who was to receive it.

THE parental authority was endeavoured to be supported as long as possible by the funeral honours paid to the deceased patriarch, and the place of his burial. The first purchase that we hear of therefore in the Old Testament, is that of the cave of Macpelah, in the valley of Mamre, which Abraham bought from the sons of Heth (who were otherwise willing to accommodate him in the burying of Sarah), that it might be secured to him and his descendants.

THE conveyance therefore is made to Abraham with all possible solemnities and accuracy, in regard to the boundaries, which were delivered down to his grand-son Jacob, who reminds his children of them when he is dying, and requests to be interred in the cave which had been purchased by his grandfather.

WHEN the patriarch dies, the expression used is, that he was *gathered unto his people* [d], with which Montanus's literal version from the Hebrew agrees, being *collectus est ad populos suos*.

[d] It seems to have been customary for the son to close the eyes of his deceased father; "and Joseph shall put his hand upon thine eyes." Gen. xlv. 4.

As I must own that I do not understand the meaning of either the English or Latin translation; I have therefore consulted the Septuagint where the words are *προσέβη προς τον λαον αυτου* [e], which I translate, "the corpse was produced before his people," and which is the first sense that Stephens gives to this verb, citing Herodian with regard to the funeral of Severus: *κατακομίζουσι δια της ιερης οδου, εις δε την αρχαιαν αγοραν προσβιασι*. L. iv. in princ. Dio also censures Tiberius for his neglect of Livia, *ης νοσησαν επισκευασαι, ης αποθανυσαν αυτος προσεβη*. Dio. L. lviii. in princ. *μηλα ταυτα δε . . . εμφανισαιτες* (sc. the corpse) *τοις ωραισις νυκτισι, προσβιασαι λαμπρως αμφιθεαιτες*. Lucianus de Luctu, p. 807. Ed. Bourdelot.

—————"Nec tua funera, mater,
"Produxi." Aen. xi. 486.

where the poet literally translates the Greek term used in the above citations with regard to funerals. Thus likewise Statius,

—————"Et puerile feretrum
"Produxi." L. ii. ^{canl} and 4.

To this it may be added, that the expression *of being gathered to his people*, is only applied to the death of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, from which it may be fairly inferred, that the honour of producing the body, and weeping over it in public, was paid only to the head of the patriarchal family. Perhaps Abraham might have introduced these funeral solemnities after he had been in Egypt.

ISHMAEL indeed is said to have been *gathered to his people* in our version of Gen. xxv. 17; but the Septuagint runs *προς το γένος*, and not *προς τον λαον αυτου*; and it should seem, therefore, that his corpse was only lamented over by his relations. If we consider, however, the term *γένος* to be used in as extensive a sense as *λαος*, it must be recollected that Ishmael, on the death of Abraham, was the head of the patriarchal family.

[e] Gen. xlix. 33.

I SHALL

I SHALL now endeavour to shew that this is the true sense of the text from the particulars which are stated both as to Sarah and Jacob's funeral; for as to those of Abraham and Isaac, it is only mentioned that they were *gathered unto their people*, and were buried.

I SHALL begin, however, with the last instance, *viz.* that of Jacob, because the ceremonies used in the burial of Sarah, will then be better understood.

JACOB, in his last agonies, is said to raise his feet *upon the bed*, and therefore lay in such an attitude that his corpse might be *produced to his people* (according to my translation of the passage); immediately after which Joseph falls upon his father's face [*f*], weeping and kissing it; which, with other public lamentations, continued (as I apprehend) till the corpse was buried [*g*].

THIS last particular is, I think, fairly to be inferred from different passages which relate to the funeral of Sarah.

SARAH died at some distance from where Abraham happened to be, who then came to mourn and weep for her before she is interred [*b*], and addresses the sons of Heth, the *body of his wife lying before him*; "and Abraham stood up *from before* his dead [*i*] and spake unto the sons of Heth."—In the next verse he says, "give me a burying place that I may bury my dead *out of my sight*:" and the same expression is again repeated in the 8th verse.

[*f*]

—————"Nunc ore ligato
"Incubat amissæ."

Statius v. 1.

[*g*] I have been informed that the same lamentations over a corpse are not unusual in some parts of North Wales, during the night which precedes the interment.

[*b*] Gen. xxiii. 2, 3. 8.

[*i*] Montanus's literal version from the Hebrew is "*desuper facie* (or *a facie*) "*mortui sui*;" which shews that Abraham fell upon the face of Sarah before the sons of Heth, as Joseph did upon the corpse of his father Jacob; and that these were therefore the common funeral solemnities.

I HAVE

I HAVE already observed how material a purchase the cave of Macpelah was considered both by Abraham and his descendants, it being destined to receive their remains, and Dr. Shaw informs us, that it continues to be shewn by the Mahometans; he forgets, however, to mention whether it is a *double one* according to the Septuagint [4], and the literal version from the Hebrew, as such a separation must still continue if the cave does.

I CANNOT here but observe, that it is much to be wished the travellers into the Promised Land, would look out for many patriarchal antiquities, if they happen not to be of a perishable nature. Thus Dr. Shaw hath given us an engraving of the rock of Meribah; nor do I see greater difficulties in discovering the cave near Zoar, in which Lot and his daughters lived, than the cave of Macpelah.

FOUR different pillars are said to have been erected by Jacob in commemoration of particular events. As it cannot probably have answered any purpose to destroy them, and, on the contrary, both Jews and Mahometans profess an equal veneration for the memory of the patriarchs, I do not see why some remains of such antiquities may not still continue [5]. I should suppose likewise, that the twelve stones which Joshua ordered to be placed where the Israelites should encamp after the passage of the Jordan, may be still found out by an inquisitive and persevering traveller.

A MAP of the complete course of this river is also much wanted, as well as of all the stations mentioned in the patriarchal times, notwithstanding the labours of Reland, Dr. Wells, and

[4] ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΟΡΗΛΑΙΟΥ ΤΟ ΔΙΠΛΩΝ.

[5] The Cananites might have indeed destroyed them, whilst the descendants of the patriarchs were in Egypt.

others,

others, who have rather taken notice of the places which occur in the later books of the Old Testament.

If it be said that it is impossible to settle them with any precision, I admit the objection if accuracy in longitude and latitude is required; but circumstances are not wanting to fix the situation of most of them, so as greatly to illustrate the book of Genesis.

ANOTHER objection may be perhaps made from the insecurity to the traveller, and the ignorance of the present inhabitants of the Promised Land. With regard to the first of these circumstances, I have little doubt but that if application was made through our minister at Constantinople, a proper guard might be procured; but even this would signify little, unless the person who undertakes such a journey can readily speak the language of the country himself, or is attended by an able interpreter, who may ask such questions as are necessary, and which require no great sagacity or knowledge in the person who is to give the answer.

DAINES BARRINGTON.

* * It is much to be wished likewise for the illustration of the Greek and Roman classics, that a missionary of taste and a landscape-painter were sent with the same advantages into poetical Thrace. How little do we know of the river *Strymon*, Mount *Æmus*, &c.—As for ancient Greece, it hath lately been very thoroughly examined, and the republic of letters are much obliged to the Society of the *Dilettanti* for the last voyage undertaken for this laudable purpose.

XI. Mr.

X. *Observations on two Roman Stations in Essex.*
By the Rev. Mr. Drake. In a Letter to the
Secretary.

Read June 18, 1776.

S I R,

THE Roman roads that pass through this county of Essex,
 are thus described by the fifth Iter of Antonine:

Caesaromagus M. P. XXVIII.

Colonia M. P. XXIV.

THE ninth Iter has this road inverted, and inserts the two
 intermediate stations omitted in the former:

Camuloduno (vel Colonia) M. P. IX.

Canonio M. P. XII.

Caesaromago M. P. XVI.

Durolitum M. P. XV.

By both these routes we perceive that the distance from Lon-
 dinium to Camulodunum, which certainly is Colchester, makes
 up two and fifty miles, which is a number that remarkably
 coincides with the present.—Various however have been the
 opinions about the places where the stations are to be fixed.—

Vol. V.

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Duro-

Durolitum indeed has been by general consent assigned to Leyton-Stone, though not without some violation of numbers; but Caesaromagus has had more uncertainty attending it. The great masters of antiquity have disagreed much in the position of this station; every writer almost giving it to a different town. Bishop Gibson is the only person who fixes Caesaromagus at Dunmowe; and, I own, I am much inclined to think he is right in his opinion. Give me leave to transcribe from him what he says upon this occasion in his first edition of the *Britannia*, p. 356.

“MR. Camden places Caesaromagus at Burghsted, and Talbot at Chelmsford, but why they should wheel about from Leyton to seek for Caesaromagus in those parts, seems a little strange. Had they gone from thence right over Epping-forest, about the distance in the itinerary, *viz.* eight and twenty miles, they would have met with a town, the first sight whereof might promise something great and august—I mean Dunmowe.—MR. Camden himself says it was formerly called Dunmawg, which should have hinted to him this Caesaromagus.—As to the changing *mawg* into *mowe*, it is exceeding natural, as the melting of *g* into *w* is very obvious to any one who compares the more ancient and modern words.—As to the substituting *Dun* for *Caesaro*, nothing was more common with the Saxons than to take part of the Roman name, and out of it to frame another by the addition of *burgh*, *chester*, *dun*, &c. Besides, the agreeableness of distance between this and the next station adds strength to the conjecture, that Dunmowe is the reliet of Caesaromagus, distant in the Itinerary from Colonia (Colchester) twenty-four miles, which may agree well enough with the common computation of twenty.” Thus far the learned bishop; and though his reasoning in other respects may appear strong and decisive, yet as he produces no Roman remains discovered

in this town, which seem essentially necessary characteristics of a station, many might hesitate in subscribing to this opinion. Later times however have obviated this objection, and I myself have had sufficient proof that Dunmowe is not devoid of antiquities. About fifteen years ago, I had brought me a coin of Honorius, of the finest gold, and in the highest preservation; picked up in the very town. Upon a visit to the late Mr. Morant, I shewed it him, who produced another of the same impression, found at Colchester. Much about the same time, a farmer in the parish sent me two or three pieces found in the fields near the church. They were of the large brass of Commodus; but the foolish man, thinking they were of infinitely more value than they really were, would not be persuaded to part with them. Some years before this, the late Lord Maynard discovered a large parcel of Roman denarii in a part of his estate which joins to the town of Dunmowe; as that worthy peer, though master of many other branches of literature, was not at that time conversant with Roman antiquities, he did me the honour to send them for my inspection. They were all of Gallienus, or some of the thirty tyrants cotemporary with that emperor, particularly Tetricus, Posthumus, and Victorinus. These reliques of antiquity have occurred to me in the space of fifteen years, and undoubtedly many more must have appeared in this place prior to that period; but as a knowledge of this kind was till lately very little attended to, it is no wonder such discoveries have passed unnoticed. These however are sufficient to induce me to concur with the bishop in regard to this station.

AND now, Sir, give me leave to venture a conjecture of my own in respect to another station; a conjecture, I own, unsupported by any of the numerous writers that have treated upon

these subjects. The ninth Iter of Antonine from the Venta Icenorum to Londinium describes the latter part of the route in this manner:

Camuloduno M. P. 9.
 Canonio M. P. 12.—Richard the Monk 15.
 Caesariomago M. P. 16.
 Durolitum M. P. 15.

You will here observe, that Canonium is a middle station between Camulodunum and Caesariomagus. Where then should we naturally seek for its situation? Certainly in some town that is placed between Colchester and Dunmowe, which are indisputably the ancient Camulodunum and Caesariomagus. Such a place accordingly presents itself to us, situated in the very line of the road, whose distance both from Dunmow and Colchester exactly coincides with the numbers of the Itinerary, is acknowledged to have produced many remains of Roman antiquity, and whose very name is supposed to be derived from a Roman origin. The town I mean is *Coggeshal*, which is attended with every circumstance I have mentioned; yet the most celebrated writers of antiquity have, by an odd kind of fatality, wholly overlooked it; each of them have assigned different places for this station, all of which have been equally objected to by their successors in the pursuit. Let us first examine if an agreement of numbers can support our opinion. The distance from Caesariomagus to Camulodunum is marked by the Itineraries, four and twenty miles. It is at present computed one and twenty, which, allowing for the difference of the Roman and English measure, make the ancient and modern numerals answer with remarkable exactness. Fifteen miles upon this road from Caesariomagus, the same Itineraries inform

us,

us, stands Canonium, nine miles from which station bring us to Camulodunum. Now thirteen miles is the distance from Dunmowe to Coggeshal, and eight from Coggeshal to Colchester: This is so perfect a correspondence of numbers as to remove every doubt in the fixing this station: add to this, that the road upon which this place is situated, has as much the appearance of Roman as any road in the island; it is direct, elevated, and, in the course of one and twenty miles, we meet with *Rain Street*, and a village called *Stanaway*, both evidently pointing out a Roman military way. The sagacious Horsley, most of whose life was employed in tracing out the direction of Roman roads, and to whose learning and industry the literary world are much indebted, was clearly of these sentiments. The military way, says he, going from Dunmowe to Colchester, is the best supported of any I know in this county, and therefore am much inclined to take it for my guide. As to the other distinguishing mark of a station, remains of antiquity, sufficient have been discovered at Coggeshal, to entitle it to that character. In the beginning of the last century, an arched vault of brick was found, in which was placed a burning lamp of glass covered with a Roman tile about fourteen inches square, and an urn with ashes and bones; besides these, two paterae of smooth and polished red earth, on the bottom of one of which was fairly inscribed in Roman characters *Coccili M.* which Weever supposes to mean *Coccili Manibus*, and that the name of the town was taken from that *Coccilius* the lord of it, as it is sometimes called *Coxall*. Before this time, a large brazen pot was also discovered, in which were included two smaller earthen vessels containing a great quantity of bones wrapped up in fine silk. Coins also have been frequently dug up, particularly some of Antoninus Pius.

THESE, Sir, are the reasons which induce me to place this station of Canonium, situated between Cæsaromagus and Camulodunum, at Coggeshal. Whether or no I am right, I must submit to better judgment; however I must observe, that, notwithstanding the silence of the great critics in antiquity, the remains discovered in this town, its situation on the military way, and due distance from the adjoining stations, all concur to the establishing the conjecture I have advanced.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

W. DRAKE.

Festd, June 17, 1776.

XI. *Mr. Barrington's Observations on St. Justin's (or Justinian's) Tomb. In a Letter to the Reverend Mr. Norris.*

Read June 20, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

June 17, 1776.

AS the Council of the Society hath so far approved of a drawing*, which I presented to them, from the Tombstone of the Saint to whom the church of Llanieffin, in Anglesey, is dedicated, as to have ordered it to be engraved in the *Archaeologia*; it is incumbent upon me to give the best account I am able of this British Saint.

I CONCEIVE it to be a general rule, that no church is ever dedicated to any Saint, whose holiness of life is not well known in that part of the world by his having resided a considerable time amongst the inhabitants; and hence the Martyrologies for almost every diocese in the countries of the Roman-Catholic persuasion. It is an exception indeed to this observation, that churches are frequently dedicated to Angels, the Virgin Mary, and the Apostles, which are situated in countries never visited by any of these; but this exception, from obvious reasons, seems to prove, that the general rule is otherwise just.

THERE are two churches within the Diocese of Bangor which go by the name of Llanieffin; that, from which I procured

* This very accurate drawing I received from the Rev. Mr. Davis of Baron-Hill in Anglesey. See Pl. IX.

the

the drawing of the tomb-stone, is in the island of Anglesey, about three miles to the North-West of Beaumaris; the other is situated in the South-West part of Carnarvonshire.

LANESTIN therefore should, *primò facie*, be the church dedicated to St. Justin, if any such Saint had ever resided in Great Britain or Ireland, and more particularly in any part of the principality; but, after having consulted all the proper materials (at least that I am aware of) [a], I cannot find mention of such a Saint, who lived or died in Great Britain.

THE Golden Legend contains the first collection of the Lives of Saints which was ever printed in our country, or language; but it treats of several who never flourished in England, and amongst the rest of Justin the Martyr, who died in the second century, and who never was out of Italy.

OTHER Martyrologies [b] give us the lives of several other Justins; as, St. Justin the philosopher; St. Justin in Parisiis, &c. but none of these were ever in England or Wales; nor do the festival days agree with that which is observed for these two churches in the Diocese of Bangor; which is a strong negative proof, that they could not have been dedicated to any of these foreign Saints.

[a] Besides those which I shall hereafter cite, I have consulted, the *Florilegium Sanctorum Hiberniae, Parisiis, 1624. 4to.*—the English Martyrology, by a Catholic Priest [Mr. John Wilson] 1608, without any place at which the book was printed.—and, A Supplement to a Memorial of Ancient Piety; or, a British Martyrology, duodecimo; printed for Needham, over-against Gray's Inn Gate, Holborn, 1761.

[b] See Baronius's *Calendarium Romanum*, who treats of five St. Justins. As also Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, 6 vol. 8vo. 1756, London.



hⁱ a: s m a b t: s m n o t v s: k a s t i n v s: a v i: s w a n l l i m n: r:
m m d o a: a t: g r v p r v t: m p: c w i l k m: o p o v l i t: i n: o b l m
a o a m: i s t m n: i m m c i n a m: p: s m l v t a: m n i m m r v m: s:

IN the first compilation, however, of merely British Saints (which is generally cited by the title of the New Legend, or Capgrave's Legend of the Saints) [f], I find mention of a St. *Justinian*, who was born, indeed, in the Lesser Britany, during the Sixth Century, but going into Wales was protected by St. David, and died in the Principality.

"Justinian was of noble blood, of Lyttel Britaine, and
"being made a priest, heard a voice, which bad him leave his
"country; whereon going to sea, in a ship made of leather
"and rods [g], he got to an island called Lemonia, where St.
"David hearing of him, sent for him; after which some devils
"killed the Saint, and where his head fell, issued a spring,
"which cleansed lepers; [h] St. David afterwards buried the
"body at St. David's." See an account of St. Justinian the
hermit, of Ramsey isle, on the Welsh coast. Memorial of
British Piety, p. 119.

DRAYTON also, in the 24th book of his Polyolbion, takes notice of a Welsh Saint, with the small variation of *Justinian*, instead of *Justinian*:

"But leaving these divin'd, to Decuman, we come,
"In North-Wales, who was crown'd with glorious martyrdom,

[f] It is thus cited in Ames's Typographical Antiquities, p. 93. As also in the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library, which adds Capgrave's Christian name of *John*. I cannot find, however, the name of the compiler in any part of the work. It was printed by Wynken de Worde, A. D. 1516.

[g] The Welsh use boats made of these materials to this day—they are called coracles; but of late they have substituted pitch'd canvass instead of leather, in the neighbourhood of Monmouth.

[h] The new Legend of Saints, folio 201. B. This well, as also a church, of St. Justinian, is marked in Bowen's Map of South Wales, just to the Westward of St. David's.

"*Justinian* as that man a sainted place deserv'd,
 " Who still to feed his soul, his sinful body starv'd;
 " And for that height of zeal to which he did attain,
 " There by his fellow Monks most cruelly was slain."

I CANNOT therefore but suppose, that the two churches in the Diocese of Bangor, called *Laniestin*, are dedicated to this St. *Justinian*, and not to any Saint of the name of Justin, as none bearing such name ever flourished in Great Britain.

A GREATER deviation from the real name of the Saint is not uncommon either in English or Welsh. For example; we generally use *Maudlen*, for *Magdalen*; *Pancras*, for *Pancratius*; whilst *Ambrose* is by the Welsh called *Emrys*, and *Winifred*, *Fraid*.

BESIDES this, the Tomb-stone of St. *Justinian* is not, probably, of greater antiquity than the 14th or 15th century; the Inscription running perhaps as follows:

" Hic jacet Santtus Yestinus, cui Guenllian Filia Madoc, &
 " Gryffyt ap Gwilym optulit in oblacoem istam imaginem p.
 " salute animarum s."

IT is not therefore extraordinary, that the lapidary, or those who ordered the cenotaph, should, at the distance of eight or nine hundred years, be somewhat inaccurate in the name of the Saint; especially, as the orthography is by no means correct in several of the other words—as *Santtus*, for *Sanctus*; *optulit*, for *obtulit*; and *oblacoem*, for *oblationem*.

I am,

DEAR SIR,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

XII. An

XII. *An Account of an old Piece of Ordnance, which some Fishermen dragged out of the Sea near the Goodwin Sands, in 1775.* By Edward King, Esq; F. R. S. *In a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Milles.*

Read June 27, 1776.

John-street, May 23, 1776.

SIR,

A Few months ago I ventured to communicate to the Society, through your hands, some observations on the structure of ancient castles, and the mode of fortifying them; apprehending an enquiry of that nature might possibly have a tendency to illustrate the more early periods of our history, and to fling light upon the relations of many particular events, which are interesting in themselves, but not capable of being fully understood, without some acquaintance with the ancient manners, customs, and arts, that prevailed in those times.— The very favourable reception which that attempt met with, induces me now to trouble you still further, with a short account of a *single fragment* of antiquity, a *very extraordinary piece of old Ordnance*; which, although it may, at first sight, be deemed an object unworthy the attention of the Society, may perhaps

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contribute

contribute to illustrate some few historical facts, equally with more magnificent and important remains. And I cannot help adding, that perhaps the collecting a number of such ancient fragments, of various ages, and preserving faithful accounts of them, may even be a means of furnishing a very useful comment on history.

THIS very singular piece of antiquity was dragged out of the sea last year, near the Goodwin sands, by some fishermen who were sweeping for anchors in what is called the Gull-stream, being a part of the road leading into the Downs; and is now in the possession of these poor men at Ramsgate.

FROM some of its ornaments we may, I think, fairly judge it to be so very old, as to have been cast probably about the year 1370; that is, not long after the very first introduction of these formidable instruments of war into Europe [a]; it as manifestly

[a] It is recorded by historians, and I believe with great truth, that cannon were first used in Europe (by Edward III.) at the battle of Cressy in 1346. — Mezeray, v. 3. p. 183. Rapin, v. 4. 268.

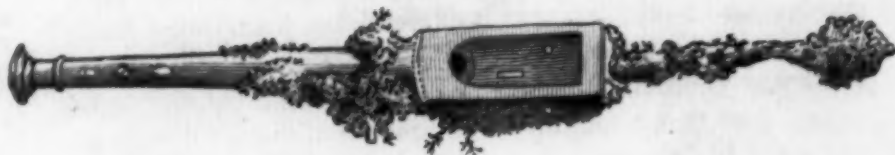
Mans taken by bombardment, anno 1424, Hen. VI. large battering canon being now first used by the English. Polyd. Vergil. Hist. Ang. p. 591, ed. Thyni 1651.

Carte (Hist. II. 433.) says the French historians from records observe, that cannon were first used by the English at the attack of the ville d'Eu in Normandy by Henry Lord Môtley 1339. But Mezerai [Etat de la France] says that artillery was first known 1318. The Histoire de M. de Boucicaut, p. 264. 1699. says, the King of England, at the battle of Agincourt, placed some pieces of cannon on an eminence which did not kill many men, but threw a panic into the French army who were absolute strangers to them. Voltaire (Gen. Hist.) says cannon had been invented ten or twelve years before the battle of Cressy. The first appearance of cannon in Italy, was against the Genoese boats at the siege of Venice 1380. Guicciardini, transl. by Goddard I. 147-9, Mod. Un. Hist. 28. 415. See a curious description of the musquets invented by the Luccibese by Bellius, ib. 36. 137. n. A. Walsingham describing the defeat of the French fleet off Sluys 1386 says, there were taken on board of it "*Gunnæ plures, cum magna quantitate pulveris ejus præcuius prævaluit omnibus manubus supra dictis.*" p. 313. These *Gunnæ* he says, p. 398, "*Galli canones vocant.*"

Harquebusses first used, anno 1414, at the siege of Arras. Montf. Monum. III. p. 162.

belonged

F.I



F.II



F.IV



F.III



F.V



F.VI



belonged originally to the crown of Portugal; and was most probably lost, and sunk, about the time that John Duke of Lancaster asserted a claim to the Castilian dominions; although it might possibly have been preserved till the time of the Spanish armada, and have been sunk when that fleet was destroyed.

It is 7 feet 10 inches long; and, though of so large a size, was most manifestly used as a swivel gun; and was so contrived as to be loaded, not at the mouth, but (like a screw-barrel pistol) at the breech, by putting the powder and ball at once into the chamber, and then closing it up: from the situation however of its trunnions and fulcrum, it must have been extremely difficult to traverse; and the charging it must have been a very tedious operation, full as troublesome, as the piece itself is unwieldy.

PL. XII. fig. I. represents the appearance it now has, with shells, and pieces of rock, and corallines adhering to it. Fig. II. is designed to represent its true and original proportions, according to the most accurate measurement I could make; and I have added, at the end of this paper, a table containing all the dimensions.

THE proportions of the barrel itself seem to be well adjusted; but as to the device of the chamber, I must leave it to those who are skilful in engineering, either to approve or disapprove of it.

Its contrivance is as follows:—Just below the trunnions and axis, the barrel ceases to be cylindrical; the part of the cylinder, which would have been uppermost, being cut away, to make an opening into the chamber, which is considerably larger than the bottom of the bore.

THE opening into the chamber is represented at *a b* fig II. and in the chamber may be observed two small square holes, one on each side, opposite to *d*, and one longer hole, at the bottom, at *e*: the use of these seems to have been, to fasten in the part containing the powder and ball; which, in order to

fit the cavity, must have been something of the form represented in fig. III. having at *e* a tenon, which went into the mortise-hole *c*, at the bottom of the chamber, to keep it firm; and a square perforation at *f*, behind the cavity for the powder, through which perforation, and also through the square holes at *d*, an iron bar was put, to lock the whole fast together.

THAT I am right in concluding such to have been the mode of loading this ancient piece, although the part which should have filled up the chamber is now lost, appears from a very curious account given by an old Spanish writer, which our worthy and learned friend Mr. Lort has favoured me with; and which describes a method, whereby, notwithstanding the inconvenience attending the tedious process of loading, all disadvantage might be greatly remedied, and quick discharges given.

THE Spanish engineer exhibits the rude figure of a great gun, represented here fig. V. together with that of its chamber fig. VI. and his account of it is, "that of all the *old* pieces of ordnance, this seems the best adapted to the purposes of war. "Even *now* (says he) it is much used, chiefly on board of ships, "as it can be so easily and expeditiously charged; for being "composed of two parts, as appears from the figure, thirty "or forty chambers may be always at hand, ready charged, "and with the greatest facility adapted to the place made for "receiving them:—They are called in Castile, *Pieças de Camera*; and in Portugal, *Pieças de Braga*."

MR. Lort very judiciously adds to this account, that he hence learns the origin and meaning of those *chambers*, which have been so often fired on rejoicing days instead of cannon, and make a greater noise with less powder; and also the reason of their name, they being probably, originally, the very chambers described by the above author, as belonging to these kind of pieces of ordnance; although they afterwards became perfect
military

military pieces of themselves, used for throwing of small bombs, or granadas, and sometimes as petards, applied to force open gates: and indeed the form which chambers have so long retained, seems to indicate this to have been originally the case.

BUT it is to be observed, that there is a little difference in the mode of fastening the chamber, as described by the Spanish writer, from the manner in which that must have been fastened in the present instance.—For whereas, in the piece lately found, the bolt must have been made to run through the solid part of the moveable chamber, and there was also a tenon and mortise at the bottom, to keep the whole fast; in the piece described by the old Spanish writer, there is no such tenon and mortise at bottom, and the bolt is made to run over a notch in the top of the chamber; which probably was a later improvement, and rendered the putting in, and taking out, of the chambers, more expeditious[*b*].

A FURTHER circumstance to be remarked in the piece under consideration is, that the bore of the cannon is considerably larger at the part next the chamber, than at the mouth; which (as appears from a rule laid down by Wolfius) was esteemed an advantage in former times.

THE handle is remarkably long, and is not (like the rest of the piece) of cast brass, but is of iron; and so also was the swivel, of which the pin or pivot, and some considerable part, is still visible, under the incrustation wherewith it is now covered.—Enough remains exposed to view, to lead us plainly to perceive, that its form was as represented fig. IV.

LASTLY, upon the barrel, near the mouth, this cannon is elegantly ornamented with three curious devices, which well

[*b*] There is a translation of this Spanish book into French, and the title is, "Vraye Instruction de l'Artillerie & de ses appartenances. Le tout recuilly de l'Experience, es queires du Pays bas & publié en langue Espagnole par Diego Veano Capitane de l'Artillerie au C D'Anvers."

deserve our attention; and of which fig. VII. VIII. and IX. in Pl. XIII. are *fac similes*, drawn from the piece itself, with as much accuracy as I was able.

THE first, (fig. VII.) and that nearest the muzzle, is a shield, containing the arms of Portugal, but blazoned in a manner different from that in which they are at present borne. This, however, is no uncommon circumstance, and only an argument of the great antiquity of the piece: for Montfaucon has observed, and clearly proved, that, in ancient times, there was great inaccuracy, and much caprice exercised, in blazoning arms of all kinds; and he illustrates this particularly, by some remains of those of the peers of France; where, incontestably, the arms of the very same persons, and houses, and of the same dignities, are found blazoned differently [e].—In the present instance, the distinction of the Portuguese arms, from what they appear according to the mode now adhered to, may perhaps in some measure be accounted for, from a circumstance that will be brought to light by observations on the third shield. But (whatever cause it arose from) that they are really the arms of Portugal, appears both from the whole tenor of the bearing, and, more particularly still, from the device that is joined with them, and follows immediately in order under them.

For fig. VIII. is an armillary sphere, used still on the flags of ships, as the badge of Portugal; and commonly supposed to have been introduced, only about the time of Henry VII. and to have been designed to denote the Portuguese discoveries in the East and West-Indies and their extensive navigations. With regard to this device, however, I have to observe, that as the Spaniards, and not the Portuguese, were in reality the discoverers of the new world in America, one might, from that circumstance alone, suspect that this badge was in reality not assumed on any such occasion: and from its appearing on this piece, I am

[e] *Antiquites de la Couronne de France*, Tom. I. p. 137-8.

F.VII



F.VIII



F.IX

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inclined to think the first use of it of a much earlier date; and that it rather alluded to the astronomical discoveries of the famous Alphonfus the Wise, King of Castile, from whom several of the Kings of Portugal were descended; which descent they were justly tenacious of vindicating by every means possible. For Alphonfus III. who had married the daughter of Alphonfus the Wise, was excommunicated by the Pope, on account of the supposed heretical discoveries and opinions of his father-in-law; and because he ventured to make an alliance with a house, which was deemed so inimical to the Catholic church; but nevertheless he stood out, and thereby maintained the legitimacy of his children by *that* marriage; they, therefore, in reality, derived their title from their maintaining the truth and importance of the discoveries of their great ancestor; and from their vindicating his character as far as they were able; and asserting an exemption from the consequences of the Papal censure in that instance.—And I am rather inclined to think that some such cause was the origin of this badge, because it is remarkable, that the ecliptic is placed so differently from its real situation; which was probably done with a design to allude to the famous, but indeed impious, and blasphemous, as well as erroneous censure, that Alphonfus the Wise [*d*], as an *astronomer*, was known to pass on the position of the earth's axis, and on the *then* received system of the world: the error of which latter, together with the infant state of science at that time, is the only apology for his presumption, and for the rash conclusions he was induced to form, if any apology can be made; as the shameful and blasphemous manner in which he thought fit to express himself, and to convey his doubts, is the only excuse that can be made for the proceedings against him. Whatever was the origin of this badge, it certainly belongs to Portugal, and determines the original property of this piece.

[*d*] See Pufendorf's Introduction, v. 1. p. 61.

THE third device, and that which fixes the date of this cannon, is a shield (fig. IX.) containing a cypher of three letters; which at first sight might, on account of a flaw in the brass, be supposed to be F G R; but, on a close and careful examination, appear manifestly to be F C R, and cannot possibly be conceived to have belonged to any king of Portugal whatever, whose name we have in the list of them, except to Ferdinand, the son of Peter the Cruel, who came to the crown in the year 1368, and to whom it might belong with the utmost propriety.—For this king, being the son of Beatrice, sister to Sancho IV. king of Castile, did, on the accession of Henry the bastard to that crown, (who came to it by the murder of Peter his brother), set up a claim to the kingdom of Castile, and engaged in a war to support it: and, when he failed in this attempt, and had lost all hopes of succeeding himself, he put John Duke of Lancaster, who married Constance of Castile, the daughter of Peter, upon asserting a right to that crown on his part.—And the final issue of all these pretensions was; that, in order to make peace, Beatrice, the daughter of Ferdinand king of Portugal, was at last married to John, son of Henry king of Castile; and it was agreed, that the issue of this match should succeed to the crown of Portugal; which laid a foundation for most cruel wars.

CONSIDERING all these circumstances, nothing can be more probable, than that, on setting up this claim, Ferdinand should assume the title of *king of Castile*; as Edward III. on a similar occasion, some few years before, had assumed the title of king of France; and this cypher exactly agrees with that supposition, for it may be read most easily,

Ferdinandus Castellæ Rex;

but cannot be read in any such manner as to suit with the style and character, or to have any reference to the history, of any other king of Portugal whatever.

AND it is equally probable, that as he chose to assume this title and cypher, so he might also chuse to assume the badge of the sphere, as alluding to his descent from Alphonfus the Wise, king of Castile, by Beatrice the wife of Alphonfus III. of Portugal, which might still further strengthen his claim.

If I am right in these conclusions, it will follow, that as Ferdinand's pretensions to the crown of Castile were supported for so short a time only, and then given up absolutely; that this cannon must probably have been cast in some part of that short period, and that it was soon lost, before the avowal of the claim was quite laid aside; and therefore, most probably, from on board some of the ships that came to negociate the business with John Duke of Lancaster.

It may indeed be objected, that cannon made of brass were not introduced into England till long after this time; but it is well known that they were purchased from foreign parts long before they were cast here; and the Portuguese, being the first and earliest most considerable navigators in Europe, may easily be supposed to have obtained them long before the English.

This, Sir, is the history of, and these are the best conjectures I am able to form, with regard to this remarkable piece of antiquity; and having given a faithful account of it, — leave others to determine how far I am right, or may be mistaken. I have only to add a few circumstances, relating to the condition it is in at present.

The handle, which is iron, and the swivel which is also iron, are both much corroded and injured; but the barrel of the gun itself, which is of brass, is very little affected by lying so long in the sea, and is nearly as entire as ever; so well does this metal maintain its durability, amidst the salts of the sea, as well as amidst those of the air, and deserve to be mentioned, even proverbially, as Horace mentions it.

BUT, although the barrel is not corroded, yet it is partly covered with a thick incrustation, as represented fig. I. formed of shells, mixed with gravel and sand, and rendered as hard as a rock; which is a proof that a species of petrification is continually going on, at the bottom of the sea, on our coasts, in a manner similar to that mentioned by Dr. Donati, at the bottom of the Adriatic; of which an account is given in the *Philosophical Transactions* [c].

THE shells are chiefly *pectens*, cockles, limpets, and muscles; *vermiculi*, and *balani*; together with one *buccinum*, and one oyster; and they are so thoroughly fixed in the stony matter, and incorporated with, and hardened by it, that this incrustation might very well pass for a fossil body, and be supposed to come out of a mine, rather than from the bottom of the ocean. It particularly resembles, in substance, the fossils found near Chipenham in Wiltshire. I thought this circumstance, on account of its curiosity, not unworthy to be just mentioned.

And, on the occasion of giving an account of this old Piece of Ordnance, I cannot omit just adding, that, till last year, there was, at the place called the Fort, at Margate in Kent, a very large old iron cannon, of extraordinary length, which had the date 1354 upon it; and therefore was, very probably, one of the very pieces used by Edward III. at the battle of Poitiers in 1356; which was one of the first occasions on which they were introduced into the field in Europe; the battle of Cressi, in 1346, being said to be the very first.—This piece had also, on its muzzle, a deep mark of a blow received from some other cannon ball, and therefore must probably have been in much

[c] Vol. XLIX. p. 588-90.

service afterwards; but I am sorry to add, that it was last year taken away in order to be melted down.

I am, Sir,

With great respect,

Your most obedient humble servant,

EDWARD KING.

The

may find that the gun is of the same kind as the one which was
found at the bottom of the sea at the same place.

The DIMENSIONS of the Gun are as follows:

	Feet.	Inches.
Whole length of the piece	7	10
Length of the gun from the muzzle to the breech	5	2
Length of the barrel to the set-off	3	6
Length of the set-off, or of the chamber on the outside	1	8
Breadth of the chamber on the outside, at bottom	0	8½
Breadth of the chamber on the outside, at top	0	6½
Length of the handle	2	8
Distance of the trunnions from the muzzle	3	0
Length of the chamber within	1	2
Width of the chamber, at the lower part	0	5½
Width of the chamber, at the upper part	0	4½
Depth of the chamber at bottom, i. e. next the handle	0	4½
Depth of the chamber at top, i. e. next the barrel	0	4½
Thickness of the sides of the chamber from 1½ to ½	0	1½
Thickness of chamber at the bottom, next the handle	0	2½
Thickness of barrel at bottom, next the chamber	0	2
Bore of barrel at the lower end	0	2,4
Bore of barrel at the mouth	0	1½
Length of trunnions	0	10½
Diameter of trunnions	0	3
Diameter of muzzle	0	4½
Diameter at the small ring	0	2½
Diameter at 10 inches distance	0	3½
Diameter at 1 ft. 10 inch. distance	0	3,6
Diameter at trunnions	0	4,1

Diameter

	Feet.	Inches.
Diameter at set-off	0	6
Diameter of handle	0	3
Diameter of knob	0	5½
Distance of square holes from bottom of chamber	0	3½
These holes are square, being on each side	0	1, ½
Distance of mortise-hole from lower end	0	5, ⅓
Length of the same	0	½
Breadth of the same	0	1, ⅓
Length of the chamber exclusive of the curved part next the barrel	1	0

XIII. *Examination of the mistaken Opinion that Ireland and Thanet were void of Serpents.* By Mr. Pegge.

Read Nov. 21, 1776.

THERE are yet many points in natural history which want to be cleared. It is not certainly known whether the elephant casts its teeth; the bee-fanciers have lately been very generally of opinion, that the working bees are of no sex; but as this is contrary to analogy, or the usual course of nature in her productions, it has been called in question, and with much appearance of reason, insomuch that this matter wants to be better ascertained.

It is partly through irremediable ignorance of the true nature of things, and partly through our oscitancy in not enquiring into them and considering them as we ought, when we have it in our power, that so much credulity and superstition has arisen in the world.

Not to pursue any further this subject, which would not be so proper for this Society, Solinus writes concerning the Isle of Thanet, “*Thanatos insula alluitur freto Gallico: a Britanniae continente æstuario tenui separata: frumentarijs campis felix,*”

“*et*”

"et gleba uberi: nec tantum sibi soli, verum et alijs salubris
"locis; nam cum ipsa nullo serpatur angue, asportata inde terra,
"quoquo gentium inuenta sit, angues necat [a]." And so the
island is supposed to have taken its name from the Greek word
θανος, *Death* [b]. This, however, is by no means the true
etymon, since, as Mr. Lewis, who lived long there, observes,
it does not accord with matter of fact, that the island affords no
snakes [c]; and therefore it rather borrowed its name, as the
same gentleman suggests, from *bene*, a *fire*, or *beacon* [d], with
which it much abounded [e].

If you ask how it happened that the isle acquired the high
privilege of being exempt from snakes or *serpents* [f]; or, which
is the same thing, was thought to enjoy that prerogative; John
de Trevisa, the translator of Higden's Polychronicon, will in-
form you, without scruple, that it was owing to the blessing
of St. Augustine, archbishop of Canterbury, who first landed
there, when he came to convert the Saxons. "It is sup-
"posed that this Iffonde, says he, was halowed and blyssed of
"Saynte Austyn, the fyrst Doctour of Englyshe men, for there
"he arryved fyrst [g]." This, indeed, is not exactly agreeable
to his author, who only says, the island obtained its *fertility*
from the Saint. Trevisa's notion, however, prevailed, being
propagated by Caxton in his description of England [h], and
is, at this day, believed by many.

[a] Cap. 25.

[b] Higden, Polychron. p. 195. Edit. Gale.

[c] Hist. of the Isle of Thanet, p. 2.

[d] Ibid. p. 1.

[e] See the old chart in Lewis.

[f] This is the word in Higden.

[g] Trevisa, fol. lxiv. b. Edit. 1527, or Higden, p. 195.

[h] Lewis, p. 2.

LET us now see how it fares with Ireland, for this is supposed, in like manner, to be void of venomous creatures. "What is most uncommon, says Sir James Ware, and hardly granted by God to any other part of the habitable globe, *this Island does not nourish any venomous creature, not though it were imported into it from another country* [*i*]." And this opinion was in fact very ancient [*k*], and was thought so indubitable a characteristic of the country, that a controversy arising, as Giraldus Cambrensis relates, whether the Isle of Man belonged to Britain or Ireland, it was adjudged to appertain to the former, because it admitted of venomous creatures [*l*]. Now as the matter of fact was thus currently credited, so the original cause of it, that their Patron St. Patrick expelled all noxious animals out of the island, was as universally believed, and that he did it by means of his *staff*. The legend says, that Patrick, on the approach of Lent, withdrew into a high mountain on the western coast of Connaught, that he fasted there forty days, and "that to this place he gathered together the several tribes of serpents and venomous creatures, and drove them headlong into the western ocean; and that from hence hath proceeded that exemption, which Ireland enjoys, from all poisonous reptiles [*m*]." And then as to the instrument, Giraldus expressly says "per quam [*Baculum Jesu*] vulgari opinione, Sanctus Patricius venemosos ab insula vermes ejecit [*n*]."

[*i*] Sir James Ware's *Antiq. of Ireland*, p. 169. 228.

[*k*] Bede I. c. 1. Gir. Cambrensis I. c. 23. Gul. Neubrig. p. 192. See also Sir James Ware I. p. 15.

[*l*] Gir. Camb. II. c. 15.

[*m*] Sir James Ware I. p. 15.

[*n*] Gir. Cambr. III. c. 34.

Now what occasion is there for any miraculous operations in these cases? for any superstitious notions, or incredible manœuvres, when the facts, supposing them to be real, can be so readily accounted for, upon the slightest consideration, from the common course and nature of things? Thanet and Ireland are both of them islands; Thanet was more completely such formerly than at present, the *Yenlade* or *Wantsume*, which separates it from the continent, having been three furlongs broad in venerable Bede's time [o]. Solinus, again, as above cited, expressly mentions its exemption from venomous animals, long before St. Augustine arrived there, so that the interposition of the Saint is manifestly excluded. He notes the exemption also, in respect of Ireland, as is rightly observed by Sir James Ware, before St. Patrick was born [p]. Wherefore regarding the two places as islands, it seems to be no more than natural, that they should be destitute of noxious animals. It was so in Crete, where Solinus tells us, there were neither wolves, foxes, nor serpents [q]; and in Ebusus, as both he and Pliny relate [r]. Whereupon, it may be properly observed, that serpents were absent from Crete for the same reason that wolves and foxes were, because it being an island, they could not get thither of themselves, and nobody would, certainly, be at the trouble of conveying or transporting them. Dioscorides and Apuleius, indeed, contend, that the absence of poisonous animals from

[o] See Mr. Lewis, p. 46. I think it not improbable, that formerly there might be no venomous creatures in the island, for this reason, though there are now. Ireland, continuing under the same circumstances as anciently is, I suppose, destitute of them at this time.

[p] Sir James Ware l. p. 15. from Solinus, cap. 25.

[q] See also Aelian. H. Anim. III. c. 32.

[r] Solinus, cap. 26. Plin. Nat. Hist. VIII. c. 58.

Crete was owing to the powerful alexipharmical property of the herb *dittany*, which possessed an extraordinary virtue in that island [s]; but few people, I apprehend, will think that an adequate cause; however it may be some satisfaction to those that do, to find it matched by the Indian tree called *Parebon*, of which a large piece, according to Ctesias, would attract lambs and oxen and birds [t], much in the same manner as the Cretan dittany repelled the wolves and foxes and serpents, so that it was used in fowling.

VENOMOUS creatures are propagated no otherwise than by their own species, (notwithstanding what Diodorus Siculus says of the Isle of Rhodes), and therefore one may well suppose that many other islands in the world, perhaps most of them, may be free from them, as well as Thanet and Ireland, Crete and Ebusus. As to Rhodes, called formerly *ῥοδῖον* [u], and any other islands called by the same name [w], these are singularities, which conclude nothing against general appearance.

I COME now to Ireland in particular; the country is extremely wet and very unfavourable for fostering reptiles of the serpentine kind, which always flourish most in dry and warm climates; for which reason, they never appear here in England,

[s] Meursij Creta, p. 3.

[t] Ctesias Indica, p. 660. Edit. Gronov. And Apollonius, Hist. Mirab. 17. quotes the passage from that work, when it is plain the *ῥαπῖον* grew in India, and not in Crete; and therefore in Hesychius, where we have *ῥαπῖον*, *ῥαπῖον* KPHI ἔλδε τῇ, we ought, certainly, to read, *ῥαπῖον*, *ῥαπῖον* KTHIJA ἔλδε τῇ. That from Ctesias and Hesychius, Apollonius should be amended *ῥαπῖον* for *ῥαπῖον*. And lastly, that what Meursius says in his *Creta*, p. 108, and ad Apollonium, of this tree's being a production of that island, ought to be expunged, it being not a native of that place, but of India.

[u] Bochart, Geogr. Sac. III. c. 6. Meursii Rhodus, p. 4.

[w] Ibid. Pt. II. Lib. I. c. 35. Meurs. Cypr. p. 8.

till towards the approach of summer. Bede indeed says, Ireland excelled Britain in the serenity and salubrity of its air, but Giraldus Cambrensis, who had been in the country, contradicts him flatly in that [x], and elsewhere [y] speaks of its being greatly subject to rain, which I presume is the truth.

THE result seems to be, that when, in perusing our ancient authors, the learned antiquary meets with narrations bordering upon the marvelous, the first thing to be done is, to examine into the reality of the facts in the best manner he can, and after that maturely to weigh and consider, whether the appearances related are not capable of being satisfactorily resolved from second causes, without having recourse to preternatural efficient and operations; a method of proceeding not only very rational in itself, but which will probably deliver him, in many instances, from much folly and superstition, incidental to vulgar and unthinking minds.

[x] Gir. Camb. l. c. 3.

[y] Idem, l. c. 5.

XIV. Particulars of the Discovery of some ancient Gold Coins at Fenwick Castle in Northumberland.

OWEN Salisbury Brereton, esq. exhibited February 1, 1776, a very fair, noble of Edward III. rendered curious on account of the particulars of the discovery, and other circumstances attending it.

It was found the last summer, together with several hundred more, (all in excellent preservation) at Fenwick Castle in Northumberland. They had been deposited in an open stone chest, covered with sand twelve inches deep; the chest was placed over the arch of a cellar door which stood immediately under the flags of the threshold of the castle gate.

THIS castle formerly belonged to the ancestors of Sir John Fenwick [a], who was attainted, and executed for treason in 1696.

[a] Fenwick tower, the seat of the ancient family of the Fenwicks, is in Stamfordham parish, on the North side of the Roman Wall. One of the Fenwicks has an old cross-legged figure in that church. Of this family Thomas held it t. Henry III. Robert 33 Edw. I. John high-sheriff of Northumberland, 32 Rich. II. It continued in the family till the beginning of the reign of William III. when it was sold to Sir William Blackett, of Newcastle, bart. by Sir John Fenwick, who was beheaded for the assassination plot 1696. Wallis's Hist. of Northumberland II. 157. 159.

It appears from a very ancient manuscript [b], in the possession of Sir Walter Blackett, bart. that in the year 1360, David, King of Scotland, made an inroad into Northumberland; and, among other ravages and depredations, surprized and carried off from Hexham (in the neighbourhood of which Fenwick Castle stood) the two sons of Sir John Fenwick. We do not find that Sir John long survived the misfortune; and the sons, it seems, were continued several years prisoners in Scotland. It is therefore presumed, and with great probability, that Sir John had, in a neighbourhood so much exposed to incursions, and for greater security in those troublesome times, taken that method of concealing his treasure, which made no inconsiderable amount in those days, and was the more scarce and curious as being a novel and valuable species of English coinage; and that only he himself was privy to the concealment and the manner of it. In this situation it remained unknown, at least unmoved, till the last summer, when it was accidentally discovered, by taking down and demolishing the whole building.

WHAT may have also further contributed to prevent an earlier discovery, was a marriage, which took place in 1395, between the grandson of this Sir John Fenwick, and the heiress of Sir John Wallington; for, upon this marriage, the young couple resided wholly upon the Wallington estate, in the family mansion; and Fenwick castle, being deserted, was used only as an habitation for the main tenant to the neighbouring lands. But these lands, and the castle, have since become the pro-

[b] There is a mistake in the chronology of this MS. David was taken prisoner 1347, released 1358, on condition of a ten years truce between the two kingdoms, and he died 1370. (Rapin IV. 270. 290. 329.) The ravages which he committed in Northumberland, for two months, were about 1342. Ib. 254. Buchan. IX. c. 32.

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perty of Sir Walter Blackett; who, on account of the ruinous state of the building, was induced, a few months past, to take down and demolish the whole of it; in consequence of which the discovery of the concealed treasure was made. It is asserted, and believed to be an undoubted fact, that several hundred of these coins had been secreted, and carried off by the labourers employed in pulling down the castle.

XV. *A further Account of some ancient Roman Inscriptions, lately observed in the Provinces of Istria and Dalmatia, and also in Italy, with Remarks. In a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter, and President of the Society of Antiquaries, from John Strange, Esq. F. R. S. his Majesty's Resident at Venice.*

Read Dec. 19, 1776.

S I R,

THE Society having been pleased to insert, among their printed tracts*, the letter which I lately did myself the honour to address to you, concerning some ancient Roman Inscriptions, collected a few years since by the learned Abbé Fortis, in a tour through Istria and Dalmatia; I persuade myself that a further account of other similar remains of antiquity, since communicated to me, chiefly from those parts, by the same gentleman, will also prove agreeable. I am therefore encouraged in the present communication, which I also hope will prove acceptable to the gentlemen of the Society, should you think proper to recommend it to them. To do the learned

* Archæol. vol. III. p. 337—349.

170 *Mr. STRANGE's Account of some ancient Roman Inscriptions.*

Abbé justice, I shall confine myself to a verbal translation of the letter he lately wrote me on the subject, and which is as follows:

“ Sir,

“ THE desire I have to contribute, as far as in me lies, towards the laudable views of the Society of Antiquaries of London, encourages me to communicate to you a few other inedited ancient Roman Inscriptions, which I collected chiefly in my late tour in Dalmatia.

“ IN the city of Veglia, which is the capital of the island of that name, and was formerly called *Curieta*, and in later times *Becla*, in the wall of the town-house is a stone of Grecian marble, on which is carved the following inscription:

T. PITIVS T. F. MARVLLVS

DECVRION. DECRETO

PVBLCIE ELATVS ET SEPVLTVS EST.

“ MANY other fragments of inscriptions, and large pieces of the same marble, are seen scattered about the town; but that before mentioned is the only one that appeared to me to merit attention, from the uncommon honour decreed to be shewn at the funeral of one of the citizens, who may be supposed to have merited it.

“ IN the city of Arbe, also the capital of the island of that name, which is near Veglia, was found the following inscription, which has since been removed to Venice, and is now in the Nani collection.

NYMPHVS.

NYMPHIS. AVO. SACRVM
 GRAECIVS. LEG. AQVAM QVAM. NV
 LVS. ANTIQVORVM. IN. CIVITATE.
 FVISSE MEMINERIT. INVENTAM.

IMPENDIO. EX. VOLV

. GRÆCI RVFI C. V. PATRON.

DICAVIT

. . . . T. POMPEIANO II. COS. VI. IDVS.

NOV.

" THE inscriptions observable at Zara and Spalatro have
 " been already published in different collections. The old
 " city walls are still in tolerable preservation, considering their
 " great antiquity, and extend between Zara and Scardona up
 " the continent. I have given a plan of them in the first
 " volume of my travels in Dalmatia. Among the many loose
 " stones scattered about this city, I observed only the following
 " inscription, of no great consequence indeed, but which I,
 " however, bought on the spot, and removed it to Padua, to
 " increase the collection of my learned friend Sig. Marfilli,
 " professor of botany in that university.

D.

M.

M. CORAELIO
 EUTICHIANO C
 ORAELIA PAULIN
 A PATRI FIEN

TISSIMO

FE

" THE ruins of Salona, though often visited by curious
 " strangers, still continue to offer new objects to them, and to

EX. T. AOA. Z 2

" its

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“ its barbarous inhabitants. On my arrival there, an in-
 “ orable stone-cutter was actually demolishing four large stones,
 “ from which, however, I made shift to copy the following
 “ inscriptions:

L. CAESIVS L. F. TIBERI

CAM. BASSVS

DOMO . PISAVRI.

VET. LEG. VII. C. P. F.

AN. LIII. STIP. XXXIII.

H. S. E. T. F. I. H. P.

IN. F. P. VI. IN. A. P. X.

“ THE stone on which the foregoing inscription was carved,
 “ measured near six feet in length, and above the inscription
 “ was observable a half busto, of excellent workmanship, in
 “ high relief, and of the natural size; and again, above this
 “ bust, a small frieze, in which were represented several in-
 “ struments of agriculture, mixed with foliage, &c. The two
 “ following inscriptions were likewise adorned with their
 “ respective reliefs, but they were broken unfortunately by
 “ the barbarity of those into whose hands they had fallen:

C. LVCRETIVS

SIGNIF. LEG. VII.

C. P. F. DOM. VERONA.

AN. XLV. STIP. XXVI.

DE SVO PECVLIA. E. I. SIBI.

ET. PRIMO. SVO. CVRAM.

EGERVNT. FRATER. ET

CHRESTVS. LIB.

IN. FR. P. X. IN. AGR. P. XX.

“ THE

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" THE following inscription probably belongs to the same
" soldier before his preferment:

C. LVCRETIVS

VET. LEG. VII. C. P. F.

DOMO. VERONA. V. F.

SIBI. ET. PROVINCIALI. P. ET

FIRMILLAE. ET. TYCHE. LIB.

SVISQVE. OMNIBVS.

IN. FR. P. X. IN. AGE. P. XX.

" THE characters of the above three inscriptions are of the
" best kind, and in the highest preservation. The next is on
" a stone nearly of the same size; but the characters are in-
" ferior, and rather damaged by time.

L. FABIVS. L. P. SATVR.

NINVS. VET. LEG. VII. P. C. F.

V. F. SIBI. ET. CLAVDIAE. LI.

CLAVDI. AIVPI. L. CAESARIS.

LIBERTAE. TYCHE. H. S. S.

LOC. DON. C. TITIVS

RESTITVTVS AMICVS.

H. M. H. N. S.

" IN the walls of the city Almiffa, the antient *Oeneum*, famous,
" even at present, for its excellent wine, I saw the underwritten
" inscription:

AVRELIVS

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AVRELIVS

NIGRINVS

IERC. AVG.

CRATERE.

“ AT Macarika, which may perhaps be derived from the
 “ *Ratancum* of Pliny, *Rboetinum* of Dio, and *Muchirum* of
 “ Procopius, called also *Mucarum*, the following long in-
 “ scription has been dug up; since which, however, it has re-
 “ mained unnoticed, as I believe.

D. M.

LICINIA PRIMA ET

LICINIUS GERON

TIVS LICINIO CRE

SCENTI CONIVX ET FI

LIVS ADVX INTREPI

DANTIS AETATIS PAT

RI CVI NON LICVIT

INFANTIAMA HVS

AD SVOS ANNOS PER

DVCERE PIO ET BENE

MERENTI ET OMNIV

M AMATORI SVORVM

ETAMICORVM DIGNO

HVNC TITVLYM POSVIT.

“ This inscription is of the lower times, as is evident from
 “ the characters, as well as the orthography. Another, of a
 “ better age, serves for a family grave-stone in the church of
 “ Saint Barbara at Zaoftrog. It is remarkable for its ortho-
 “ graphy, and for the mention of the *municipium Novense*, the
 “ vestiges

" vestiges of which are yet seen, not far from thence, within
" land, at a place called Runovich.

AVRELIO VE

VRIO DEC. M

VNICIP. NOVEN

SIVNDEYVNC

TO. ANN. XXX.

AVREL. VEVR.

LAYRATRI. PI

ISSIMO P.

" THE ruins of Narona did not afford me such inscriptions
" as I had reason to expect from the many fragments of
" columns, friezes, and other remains of ancient buildings that
" I discovered on my approach towards it. There are, however,
" the fragments of several; mostly sepulchral, and of little
" note; among which is also the following:

D. S. I. O. M.

AETERNO SACR

VM. CLA. MARC.

. . F. AC. EXOPTION.

. . . . BENEFICIA. P.

. RCIONI . . . "

So far the learned Abbé with his Dalmatian inscriptions; to which he subjoins a few others, collected in his late Appennine tour. I am sorry that this tour has given so little scope for his antiquarian researches; but the reason which you assign is, in reality, the true one. Italy has been so thoroughly and repeatedly visited by Antiquaries of all countries, that it is no

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 easy matter to make new discoveries. However the Abbé communicates to me the following inscriptions, which he conceives are little known, or, at least, not to be found among the classical collectors. For these he is principally indebted to the late celebrated Monsignor Bianchi, or *Janus Plancus*, as he used to stile himself, of Rimini, who had collected them, among many others of less note, in the course of late years. The inscriptions are as follows:

PANTHEVM SACRVM
 L. VICRIVS CYPÆRVS SEXVIR
 ET SEXVIR AVGVSTALIS

SALVTI EX VOTO
 Q. PLAVTIVS. IVSTVS. AEDILIS. ARIM
 N. S. ET. CASSIAE. THREPTES. C. S. ET
 Q. PLAVTI. VERECYNDI. F. S. AEDEM. SA. DED.
 H. A. S. A. H. L. Q. D. R. I. N. A.

GEN
 COLLEGI
 ARIMINENS.

L. MARIVS
 PEGEVS
 B. M. D. D.

M. LIBER-

M. LIBURNIVS. L. F.

M. VETTIVS. T. F.

EX. D. C. MVRVM PVB.

FAC. CVR.

C NONIO

C. F. AN. CAEPIAN

EQVO PVBL. EX. QVIN.

DECVRIS. IVDICV.

PRAEF. COH. III. BRITT. . .

NVM. VETERANOR. . . .

EQVITATAE. TRIB. LEG. I. AD.

TRICIS. PIAE. FIDELIS. PRAE. . .

ALAE. I. ASTVRVM. PRAEPOS. . .

NVMERI. EQVITVM. ELECTOR . .

EX ILLYRICO

C. VALERIVS SATVRNINVS D . . .

ALAE. I. ASTVRVM. PRAEF. OPTIM.

L. D. D. D.

C. VETTI. C. L.

VICTVMA

SALVE.

IMP. NERVAE
CAESARI AVG. III. C S
TI . CLAVDIVS
FELIX. T. P. LOLLIVS
PARIS ALLECTORES
CVLTORES SILVANI
IDEM . IMMVN.

BUT to compensate for the ill success of my friend the Abbé's antiquarian researches in his Apennine tour, concerning which I had too sanguinely raised your expectations, I avail myself of the present opportunity to communicate to you some acquisitions of this kind from another quarter of Italy, and for which I am indebted to my learned and ingenious friend Sir Roger Newdigate. This gentleman, during his short stay at Venice last summer, obligingly communicated his treasure to me, and has since indulged me in the pleasure of presenting it to you, Sir, and the other worthy members of our Society. His researches particularly respect the ancient city of Aoste in Savoy, of which he gives the following description, in a letter he lately favoured me with since his return to England.

" AOSTE is situated on the conflux of the *Dora Baltea*, and
" another torrent which rises at the foot of the Grand St.
" Bernard, and was certainly thought of great consequence by
" the Romans, as it commands two great passes of the Alps,
" that of *le Grand*, and of *le Petit St. Bernard*. Its form is an
" oblong of about one square and half; which is that of the ordi-
" nary stationary camps; the wall remains all round flanked with
" square towers, and is built of rough stones, faced with good
" masonry, for the most part, though in many the square stones
" have been carried off to other buildings. The stone itself

“ is worthy the curiosity of naturalists, being a congeries of
“ leaves petrified. From the side of Rome the approach is
“ very fine; a good modern bridge leads to the triumphal arch
“ built of the same stone, and of which I herewith send you a
“ beautiful print, engraved by the celebrated Piranesi. Both
“ fronts of it are alike, and the order is continued round the
“ flanks which have three columns. How the Corinthian
“ order comes to finish with regular Dorick entablature, better
“ Antiquaries must account. The arch is situated at the end
“ of a long suburb, about a quarter of a mile from the city, in
“ a strait line. Under the houses are the remains of an an-
“ cient bridge: the entrance is very grand, by three arches of
“ vast stones, but little ornamented. You enter a square *Corps*
“ *de Garde*, with three equal and corresponding arches towards
“ the city; the middle arch 28 feet wide. A strait line traversed
“ the whole length, though now broken about the center by
“ some modern arches, perhaps on the foundations of those
“ that formed the pratorium. At the end of this street the
“ foundations of three other arches that formed the other
“ entrance still remain. On the right, as you enter, are very
“ considerable ruins of a theatre; one flank of which consists
“ of three rows of arches, with buttresses, and is covered with
“ a square cornice, which was the finishing, at about fifty feet
“ high. One arch and the square foundation of the proscenium
“ remain, and prove it to be a theatre, contrary to the opinion
“ of all the people of the place. There is also to be seen a
“ part of the square base of a large temple and many fou-
“ terrains.”

THE following are the inscriptions which Sir Roger also
favoured me with at the same time, and which he copied from

A a 2

the

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the collection at the convent of St. Bernard; but the stones are
no longer remaining.

IOVI. O. M.
GENIO LOCI
FORTVNAE
REDVCI. D
TERENTIVS
VARRO
DEDICAVIT

THIS inscription was engraved on a tablet of marble found
near the convent. Sir Roger observes, that Terentius Varro,
the great general of Augustus, who conquered the Salassi, pro-
bably built the triumphal arch on that occasion, and perhaps
the city also for a garrison to keep them in obedience.

. RVSO COESARI
. AVGVSTI FILIO DIVI AVGVSTI
. EPOTI DIVI IVLII PRONEPOTI
. VGVRI PONTIFICI QVESTORI
. LAMINI AVGVSTALI COS II.
. RIBVNITIA POTESTATE
. IIII VALLIS
POENINAE

THE above inscription was copied from a manuscript in
the convent.

I. O. M. POENINO
T. MACRINVS DE
MOSTRATVS
V. S. L. M.

FROM

FROM the word *Poenino* Sir Roger says, that the friars of the convent are very confident that Hannibal passed their road. This inscription originally comes from the neighbourhood of St. Maurice. There are besides many other fragments of inscriptions about Aoste, with the following words :

. . . DEO PENINO
. . . IOVI POENINO
. . . IOVI PVOENINO

THERE is also still existing, in the front of a convent near the city, the inscription copied in the print. Sir Roger further informs me, that there are considerable remains of an aqueduct in the mountains near Aoste, which he had not the opportunity to visit.

I have the honour to be,

With great truth and esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your very obedient humble Servant,

JOHN STRANGE

Venice, April 20, 1776.

XVI. Thomas Morell *Honoratissimo Viro*
Daines Barrington

S.

Read Jan. 9, 1777.

ME dudum tibi, vir eruditissime, illam etiam alteram Corbrigensem inscriptionem excutere, et cogitationes meas rescribere (mutuo conferendi gratia, non edendi) pollicitum fuisse, haud diffiteor. Sed et otium et materies mihi defuerunt. Si enim in hac inscriptione aliquid obscuri, aut difficile intellectu inesset, quid tuam diligentiam, quid tuam in antiquitatis monumentis eruditionem potuit fugere? Quin et Jacobus Oberlinus, in orbis antiqui monumentis suis illustrati Prodro-mo, rectè admonet, quàm cautè sit in dijudicandis interpretandisque monumentis versandum. Cum verò nomine negligentiae me suspectum esse nollem, en tibi pauca, non ad aliquid novi proferendum, sed ad tuam sententiam, sicut prius, confirmandam, commentata.

Ἡρακλῆς Τυρίῳ Διοδώρα Ἀρχιερεῖα.

Alcidi Tyrio posuit Diodora Sacerdos.

Quod

Quod alii super hac inscriptione *πελυθρυλλη* scripserunt, id mihi non faceffit negotium. Ad te unum, inquam, tuamque sententiam specto.

IMPRIMIS igitur has duas inscriptiones esse pares, vel, ut aiunt, comites, satis feliciter, ut mihi videtur, tu, vir doctissime, coniecisti*. Equidem quicumque sint *Pulcher* et *Diodora*, propria natione, five genere, five affinitate, conjuncti: Ut ille *Astartae*, five *Lunae*, aram dedicasset, hanc etiam *Herculi*, five *Soli*, aliam dedicasse, non a fide prorsus alienum est. Etenim si Poetarum involucra tollamus, Hercules nihil aliud est quam Solis vis, potestas, et varia virtus, in inferiora mundi corpora; nec non labores ejus duodecim sunt totidem zodiaci signa, quæ annuo circuitu sol perambulat; unde Græcis *Ηρακλεις*, quasi *Ηρας κλειος*, *aëris decus et gloria*, dictus ap. Macrobi. l. 1. c. 20.

VERUM enimvero haec est interpretatio *φυσική* five *θεολογική*, quatenus nempe Hercules est sol. Præter quam et altera est *ιστορική*, quæ refert ad Heroem Tyrium, five Aegyptium, si non is unus idemque fuerit. Et ipsis Græcis (ait Otto, p. 121) hujus vocis significatio latebat; unde tam varias et frivolas etymologias commenti sunt, quarum copiam videre est apud Aelian. l. 7. c. 32. Cl. Jacob Bryant dicit *Ourebol* idem quod *Archal* et *Arcles* Aegyptiis; Gr. *Ηρακλεις*. Lat. *Hercules*. Otto nomen deducit ex Phoenicio *Rochel mercator*, et articulo demonstrativo *He*, ut sit quasi *Herochel*. Quippe Phoenicibus et Tyriis qui navigandi peritiâ reliquas gentes superârunt, Hercules mercatorum et peregrinantium praefes habebatur. Herculem a Tyriis cultum etiam discimus ex 2 Macchab. II. 18. Ubi legas, ut impius ille sacerdos Hierosolymitanus Jason miserit Tyrum drachmas argenti trecentas in sacrificium Herculis. Nec Tyriis solum Hercules colebatur sed et Sidoniis, imo cultus

* Vid. vol. III. p. 333.

iis (ut Strabo ait) κατ' ἐξοχὴν *suprà modum*. Denique illum fuisse Tyri sepultum docet Clemens Alexandrinus.

Porro per Apotheosin Hercules inter deos Viales relatus est. Fanum ejusdem in Via Appia frequentia salutantium viatorum fervuisse scribit Martial. iii. 47.

Et qua pusilli fervet Herculis fanum.

Πολλαχῇ δέ, &c. ait Dionysius Antiq. I. c. 40. "In multis etiam aliis Italiae locis templa huic deo (Herculi) sunt consecrata, et in urbibus ac in ipsis Viis arae sunt erectae, nec facile reperias alium in Italia locum, ubi deus iste non colatur." Sed inter aras omnes veneratione praecipua erat illa, de qua Virg. Aen. VIII. 270.

Et domus Herculei custos Pinuria sacri,
Hanc aram luco statuit, quae maxima semper
Dicetur nobis, et erit quae maxima semper.

Ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἑωμῶ, &c. Dionysius ib. "Ad hanc aram et jusjurandum et pactum faciunt Romani; hic etiam suarum facultatum decimas ex voto saepe offerunt;" quas *Herculaneam* partem vocat Plautus, Trin. ii. 7. Praeterea ad hasce aras sacrificia et caenae (sicut Hecate, sive Astarte) a peregrinantibus offerebantur. *Propter viam sit sacrificium, proficiscendi gratia, Herculi.* Fest. Eadem de causa in Anthol. I. 58. Herculem cum Mercurio conjunctum reperimus:

Ἄρμεις ὄρων φύλακες, δεισσοὶ θεοὶ, ἃν ὁ μὲν Ἑρμῆας,
Οἷον ὄρῃς μ', ἄτος δ' ἄτερος Ἡρακλῆας.

In litoribus, insulis, portubus, ac navium stationibus huic deo (Herculi) templa, arae, statuac, fuerunt erectae, ad quas
4
mare

mare ingressuri precabantur, et qui ab itinere erant reduces, vota in navigatione vel periculo nuncupata solvebant.

Herculi. Comiti.

Conservatori. Sacr.

L. Aelius L. F. . V. S.

Graev. Praef. Tom. X.

Herculi Defensori,

Pro reditu et itu,

D. Clodi Septimi, &c.

Grut. p. 45.

Nescio unde sequens,

Διονυσίος & Σαρπηίων

Οι Σαρπηίωνος Τυροί

Ηρακλεις Αρχωγέτης.

Inter etiam communes deos singulariter Arcadibus, Italis, ac Trojanis venerabatur Hercules.

Communemque vocate Deum. Virg. ib.

Sed de his satis.

II. QUAE fuit Diodora, cum ignarissimis scio. Varii quidem sunt Diodori (vid. Suid.) de quibus egit Meursius ad Chalcidum, p. 20. At Diodora nondum mihi occurrit. Non necesse tamen puto eam fuisse singulariter Herculi Sacerdotem; modò sit Sacerdos. Primis temporibus Romulus voluit sacerdotum uxores cum suis maritis fungi sacerdotio.

Saturno M. Flavius Festus

Et Cusonia Maxima Flaminica P. Brevat. p. 117.

Fabiae. Aconiae. Paulinae.

Sacrae ap. Eleusinam.

Deo Iaccho, Cereri, et Corae, &c. Grut. p. 309.

VOL. V.

B b

Aul.

Aul'. Sempr. Asprenat' Flamini Diali

Conjugi optimo bene merenti

Hecale Flaminica P. Ib.

D. S. Herculi L. Valerius Severus

Et Clodia Cornelia

Pro Valerio Corneliano V. S. Grut. 49.

Deo. Herculi. Iulia.

Maximina. Voti. sui. compos. Id. 46.

Herculi invicto sacrum

C. D. Rufinus et Valeria Attica

Cum suis Templum vetustate collapsum
restituerunt ex Voto. Id. 48.

QUIDNI igitur hujusce generis Diodoram supponamus uxorem, si non Pulchri, cujusdam sacerdotali honore dignati; et si idem non ex Patriciis quadamve nobili familia cooptatus fuisset: quippe tandem eo res fuit redacta, ut et Sacerdotium, paucis exceptis, cum plebe communicaretur.

MULIERIBUS, fateor, prohibitum erat Herculis sacris immisceri, eisque per Herculem jurare nefarium et illicitum fuisse scribit Varro, cui tamen opinioni refragatur Plautus *Truc. ii. 1.* Astaphium sic loquentem introducens (si sana sit lectio) *Ha, Ha, He, Hercle quievi.* Et nescio sane an foemina unquam Herculi fuit sacerdos, sed ex Plutarcho didici, quod apud Coos sacerdos ejus foemineam vestem indutus rem divinam fecerit.

In summa, ex praedictis colligo, Diodoram, si Romana fuit, hanc aram posuisse Herculi, tanquam Soli, aut tanquam deo viali, et a periculo maris aut inimicorum conservatori; vel potius, ex tua sententia, eam e Tyro fuisse, ubi Hercules et

Aistarte

Astarte (quibus Hiram Rex Tyri duo templa struxisse dicitur Joseph. ii. 1.) praecipue colebantur.

Hoc verbum fas sit addere, de hujus hexametri prosodiâ. Vocalis ante aliam non eliditur, nec corripitur necessario, ut apud Latinos, si anceps sit syllaba, multo minus si sit longa; et sanè longa est ultima in Διδύρα, ut in κάρα (vid. Soph. Aj. 309. sch.) πῆρα, σφύρα, χώρα. Vale.

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188
XVII. *An Illustration of a Saxon Inscription on the Church of Kirkdale in Rydale in the North-Riding of the County of York. In a Letter addressed to Mr. Gough, by John-Charles Brooke, Esq. of the Herald's College, F. S. A.*

Read Jan. 16, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

IN a tour I made last summer from Scarborough to the South of Yorkshire, I paid a visit to the Rev. Dr. Comber, a relation of mine, whose seat is not far distant from Kirkdale church in Rydale in that county; and one day we took a ride to see the curious Saxon inscription over the South door of that building, sometime since discovered by the Rev. Mr. William Dade, rector of Barmston, a worthy clergyman in the East-Riding, and of which, as you informed me, Mr. Pegge communicated a copy to the Society in a letter addressed to the late Bishop of Carlisle, anno 1771. I herewith send you an exact representation thereof*, together with a view of the church, Dr. Comber having politely ordered the

* Plate XII.

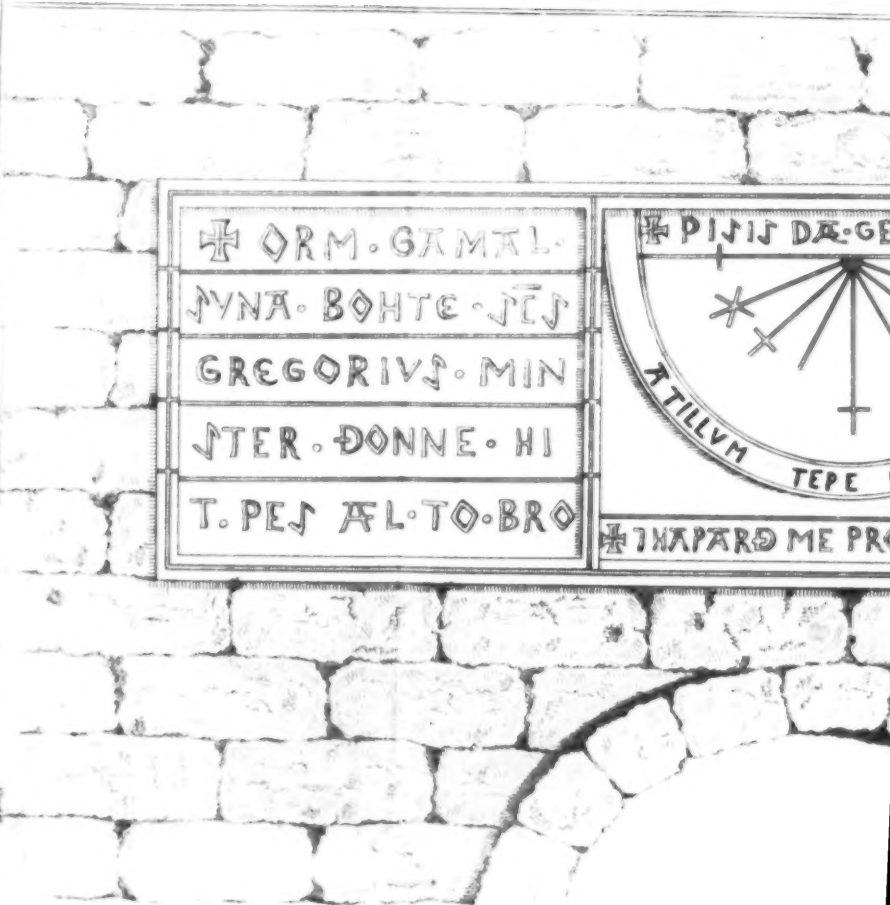
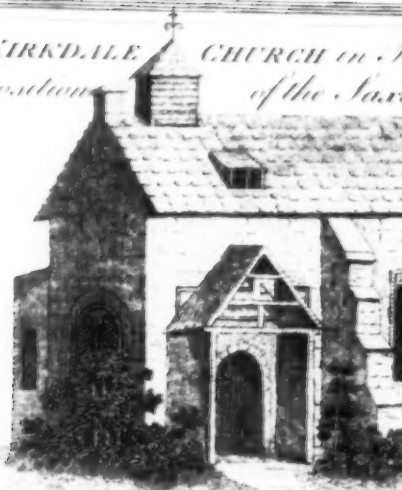
tiles

*the North Riding of the County of York
tion behind the Porch*

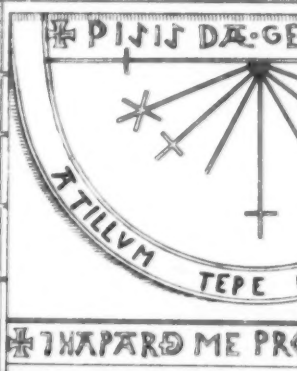


IRKDALE CHURCH in Rydale C. Chor

*South West Prospect of KIRKDALE CHURCH in
 showing the position of the tower*



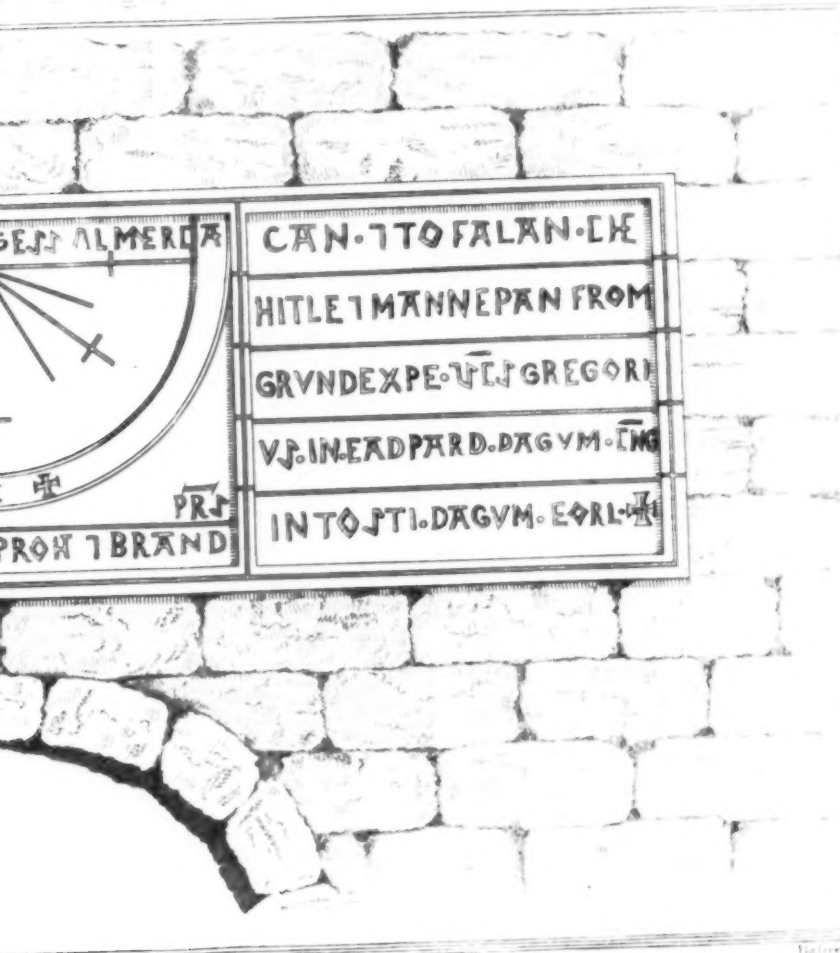
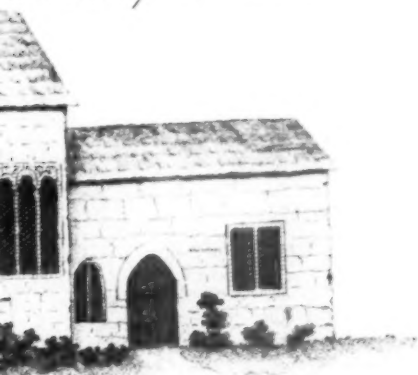
✚ ORM. GAMAL.
 JYNA. BOHTE. JES
 GREGORIVS. MIN
 JTER. DONNE. HI
 T. PES AEL. TO. BRO



L. C. Brooke delin^o 12th Sept 1760.

An ancient Saxon Inscription over the South-

*Kirkdale in the North Riding of the County of York
Inscription behind the Church*



North Porch of KIRKDALE CHURCH in the North Riding of the County of York

tiles of the porch to be removed, the better to enable us to read it.

MEMORIALS of the erection and consecration of our churches by inscriptions, are not numerous in general, but antecedently to the Norman conquest, they are indeed exceeding rare. Mr. Pegge, in a Sylloge, which he has made of them, and which it is to be hoped he will hereafter favour the Society with, says, that there are not more than three or four that actually precede the Norman *Æra*. For though we have several that respect the Saxon times by commemorating the founders of that nation, yet they have been composed, and engraved in later days, and consequently cannot always be depended upon.

THIS, which is the subject of the following paper, is a singular and valuable curiosity. It is engraved on one intire free-stone of large dimensions, being seven feet five inches long, one foot ten inches high, and in perfect preservation, except a small part in the centre, where the inscription is disfigured, but not obliterated, by the weather. This seems in some measure to be owing to its being defended by the porch which entirely covers it, except at two angles, and consequently must have been of later erection, and from its having been formerly plaistered over with lime, or some other cement, as appears by the remains of it in the interstices of the letters, and in the vacancy, where the hand of the dial has been broken away. The inscription may be read thus:

"ORM.

"ORM. GAMAL. SUNA. BOHTE. SANCTUS. GREGORIUS.
 "MINSTER. THONNE. HIT. WES. ÆL. TO. BROCAN. AND. TO.
 "FALAN. CHEHITLE. AND. MAN. NEWAN. FROM. GRUNDE.
 "CHRISTE. AND. SANCTUS. GREGORIUS. IN. EADWARD. DAGUM.
 "CNG. IN. TOSTI. DAGUM. EORL."

Under the Dial.

"AND. HAWARD. ME. WROHT. AND. BRAND. PRS."

I. e.

"Orm, Gamal filius, emit Sancti Gregorii Ecclesiam, tunc ea
 "erat tota diruta et collapsa. Chebittle et alii renovabant à solo,
 "Christo et Sancto Gregorio, in Edwardi diebus Regis, in Tosti
 "diebus Comititis."

Et Hawarð me fêcit, et Brand presbyter.

"Orm, Gamal's son, bought St. Gregory's Church, then it was
 "all gone to ruin and fallen down. Chebittle and others re-
 "newed it from the ground, to Christ and St. Gregory, in Ed-
 "ward's days the King, and in Tosti's days the Earl."

Under the Dial.

And Hawarð me made, and Brand the priest.

THAT part of the inscription which is above, and runs
 round the radii of the dial, being somewhat defaced, I dare

offer no explanation of it, but am favoured with the following ingenious conjectures from the Rev. Mr. Manning of Godelming.

IT is obvious, says that great master of Saxon literature, from the position of this dial, that it was intended for a direct South dial, described on the plane of the prime vertical; on the back part, or North side of which, the sun never shines from the autumnal to the vernal equinox. Now such a dial may, with great propriety, be called a dial for the winter half of the year; because it exhibits the whole of the sun's diurnal course while he is in the Southern or winter part of the ecliptic, but not when he is in the Northern or summer half of it.

THIS being premised, he has no doubt but that the Saxon legend was intended as a description of such a dial; and that in its original state it ran thus:

ÞIS IS DÆGES SÆL MEREX
TO SVNNA TILLVM ƿINTERES.

i. e.

Hæc est diei temporis delineatio,

Versus Solstitium hyemis.

This is a Draught exhibiting the time of Day.

While the Sun is passing to and from the Winter-solstice.

THE minster, or church, at this place, was dedicated, it seems, to Gregory the Pope, as was very natural, he being so instrumental in introducing the Christian religion amongst the Saxons.

Saxons in this island; and it appears from an agreement made between the Monks of Rievaulx and the Canons of Newburgh, dated anno 1190, 2 Rich. I. that the church of Kirkdale was then called the church of St. Gregory. The words are, *perpetuo tenenda; praeter ecclesiam et coemiterium Sti. Gregorii de Kirkdale* [a]. The name is written with its Latin termination *Gregorius*, and it may be observed, that though the Saxons seldom latinized their own names, not even on the coins, where the stile seemed to require it; yet, as appears from the Saxon Chronicle, the Saxon version of Bede, and the Saxon Homily, published by Mrs. Elstob [b], they generally retained foreign names in their Latin form, as *Gregorius*, *Augustinus*, *Mellitus*, *Laurentius*, *Petrus*, *Johannes*, *Justus*, &c. probably not knowing, or not being certain of, the vernacular termination of those names in the country from whence they came.

THE time when this inscription was engraved, may be determined within a few years. *Tosti* [c], who was 4th son of Godwin, Earl of Kent, and brother to King Harold [d], was made Earl of Northumberland [e] by King Edward the Confessor, anno 1056, upon the death of Earl Siward, whose son Waltheof was then but a child, and unable to govern [f]. The kingdom of Northumberland, in the Saxon Heptarchy, included that part of the county of York which was called Deira, viz. between the rivers Humber and Tees, in which

[a] MSS. penes Joham Burton de civit. Eb. M. D.

[b] P. 28.

[c] *Tostig*, Chron. Sax. passim. *Tostin*, Sim. Dunelm. Ingulphus, Knighton. *Tosti*, Henry Hunt. and Brompton. *Tostus*, Annal. Dunstap. *Tostinus*, Ailredus. So variously is this name written.

[d] Ingulph. fol. 510^b. n^o. 40.

[e] Hen. Hunt. fol. 210^b. n^o. 10.

[f] Sim. Dunelm. col. 187. n^o. 60.

Kirkdale is situated, which probably was the reason that *Tosti* is mentioned as Earl in the inscription, that dignity being next after the crown. For though it appears in *Doomsday-Book*, that this Earl had large possessions in the county in Edward the Confessor's days, yet none of them were in *Gerlestre Wapontake*, now *Rydale*, that tract being divided amongst several Saxon Thanes, of whom *Orm* mentioned in the inscription had a considerable share, as will hereafter be shewn, and Hugh Fitz-Baldric was the tenant in capite of all the manors adjoining to *Kirkdale*, when that survey was made.

EARL *Tosti* being of a bold and turbulent disposition, did not long enjoy his new honours; for having been guilty of many cruel acts of oppression, particularly in Yorkshire, it so disgusted the gentry of the county, that they rose, and after having murdered many of his servants at York, to the number of two hundred and upwards, as my author says [g], expelled him the country, to which he never returned to govern, but lost his life in attempting it, anno 1066, at Stamford-Bridge near York [h].

THIS revolution happened anno 1065, nine years after his creation; and as it is not probable that any memorial of his government would be erected after his expulsion, particularly by a disgusted people, it may reasonably be inferred, that the church was rebuilt, and this inscription engraved, between the years 1056, and 1065; when, as appears in *Doomsday Book*, many of our churches were in being, even in villages, and no doubt, several of them built of stone, as *Kirkdale* is; for though the sacred structures of the Saxons were in general timber

[g] Sim. Dunelm. col. 192. n. 50.

[h] R. Hoved. F. 257^a. n. 10.

buildings, as might be easily shewn, yet at this time, viz. in the eleventh century, many were made of stone.

THE materials of which *Kirkdale* church is composed vary in different parts of it, which may be attributed to the different repairs it has undergone; but it is observable, that the circumstances of the fabric, betoken it to be of an Ante-Normannic date. The arch of the door, over which the inscription is placed, as you will see by the view, is circular, as is also the arch at the West end of the church. As to the windows, they are conceived to be of a modern date; and indeed at first they were little better than holes with ordinary lattices [i] in most of our churches. And whereas there are three-mitred arches within the church separating the nave from the isle on the North, this isle was probably added long after the first erection of the body of the church, for the enlargement of the building, and the accommodation of an increasing parish; consequently these arches of the Norman taste and style were probably made since the Conquest, when the church was enlarged with the isle, and therefore are no objection to any thing here advanced.

THE next thing to be considered is, who were the parties mentioned in the inscription, and particularly *Orm*, whose piety restored the church, and furnished us with such a curious monument of Saxon antiquity; and on this head we receive much light from that valuable record called *Doomsday Book*; in which it appears, that in the time of Edward the Confessor, he was owner of *Kirkdale*, and all the adjacent country.

[i] Camden's Brit. col. 872. 893. Chaucer, p. 36.

"EVRVICSIRE.

"TERRA HUGONIS FILII BALDRICI

"NORTREDING GERLESTRE WAP.

- W "In CHIRCHEBI, hū ORM v. car tra ad gld. Tra ē ad. 11. car. Ibi hē
 "Hūgo 11. car 7 x uill. cū. 111. car. Ibi pbr 7 ecclia 7 mol. 1111. sol. &c.
 B "Hæ ptiū ad Chirchebi, Wellebrune, Middelha, Harem, Nagletune, Berch,
 "Normanebi, Mispeton, Ritone, Martone, Berch. In his sunt xxvi. car 7 diū
 "ad gld. Tra ē ad xii car. Ibi sunt m uill xxi hntes vii car. Ibi xl ac pti.
 "Tot W cū adjacentib; uat. T R E xii. Lib. W c sol." [†]

In Terrā Hugonis filii Baldrici.

In North-Riding, Rydale Wapontake.

- "Manerium. In Chirchebi habuit Orm quinque carucatas terrae
 "ad geldam. Terra est ad duas carucatas. Ibi habet Hugo filius
 "Baldrici duas carucatas et decem villanos cum tribus carucatis.
 "Ibi Presbyter et Ecclesia, et Molendinum quatuor solidos, &c."
 "Berewicæ. Hæ pertinent ad Chirchebi, Wellebrune, Middelham,
 "Harem, Nagletune, Berch, Normanebi, Mispeton, Ritone, Mar-
 "ton, Berch. In his sunt viginti et sex carucatae et dimidium
 "ad geldam. Terra est ad duodecim carucatas. Ibi sunt
 "modò villani viginti & unus, habentes septem carucatas. Ibi
 "quadraginta aerae prati. Totum Manerium cum adjacen-
 "tibus valuit tempore Regis Edwardi duodecim libras, modò
 "centum solidos."

[†] This extract from Doomsday-Book was taken from a copy of so much of that record as relates to Yorkshire, in my library, and which has been compared with two other copies, and found to correspond. But, in order to have this extract perfectly exact, I examined it with the original at Westminster, which was obligingly shewn me by Mr. Farley, and found them exactly to correspond.

AND besides these he possessed *Waletun*, *Hoton*, *Gedlingesmore* and *Hoveton*, also berwicks to *Kirkby-Moorfide*, and the manors of *Leebesthorp*, *Holecher*, and *Breibi*, *Lanton*, *Cberetorp*, *Bred-dale*, *Bedrestorp*, *Schireburne* and *Hesterton*; *Bagebi*, and its berwicks, viz. *Chirchebi*, *Carleton*, *Isfelbec*, *Sudtune*, *Ardene* and *Chipuic*; the manor of *Crubeclive* and its berwicks, *Danebi*, *Lelun*, *Brocton* and *Camisedale*; and the manor of *Hovingham*, and its berwicks, viz. *Wad*, *Frideton*, *Holtorp*, *Eschalcedene*, *Hauuade*, *Coltune*, *Grimeston*, *Neutone*, *Nesse*, *Holme*, *Eslingoby*, *Butruic*, *Almundrebi*, *Brostone*, *Neubuse*, &c. all in this neighbourhood. Gamel, his father, as expressed in the inscription, had also large possessions in the same Wapontake, viz. the manors of *Martrebi*, *Cabosbi*, *Alrebec*, a moiety of *Fridebi* and its betwick, *Raventhorp*, *Bascbebi*, *Tornitun*, *Broctune*, a moiety of *Suintune*; and *Holme*, *Normanebi*, *Ricalf*, *Nunnigetune*, *Scaceldene*, and *Gamelorp*; of all which great property, they, or their posterity, were deprived at the Conquest by William I. who gave them to Hugh Fitz-Baldric, before-mentioned, one of his Norman followers.

KIRKDALE itself is no manor, but the church is understood to be in the lordship of Welburn, as the adjacent grounds are rated there [1], which, as well as *Nagletune*, now *Nawton*, are in the parish of *Kirkdale*; and both these, as will be observed from the extract from *Doomsday*, before given, were berwicks to *Chirchebi*, or *Kirkby Moorfide*, of which *Orm* was lord; and whereas a church and priest are mentioned as being at the latter place, and none at *Wellebrune*, or any of the berwicks belonging to *Kirkby-Moorfide*, it is very probable that the church of *Kirkdale* was considered in *Doomsday-Book*, as the

[1] Ex informat. Rev. D. Comber, & Geo. Strangeways Robinson, Arm.
nunc Dom. de Welburne.

place of worship belonging to that manor; and that the present structure at Kirby-Moor-side was erected in after ages, when it grew more populous; for that lordship coming into possession of the Lords Mowbray, and from them to the Barons Stuteville and Wake [m], as will hereafter be shewn, much encreased in size and wealth, and became a market town: and I have rarely observed in Doomſday Book, that churches pertained to ber-wicks; yet this, though not otherwise mentioned in that record, evidently existed in the time of the Confessor, as appears by the inscription.

THE large estates possessed by *Orm* in this county entitled him to the rank of Thane, which that he enjoyed, we learn, from Simeon of Durham, who says, that a certain Thane in Yorkshire, by name *Orm*, the son of *Gamel*, married *Etheldrith*, one of the five daughters of Earl *Aldred*, (i. e. Earl of Northumberland) of whom he begat a daughter named *Ecghfrida*, married to *Eilsi de Teise* [n]. The title of *Ðegen*, or Thane, when an honorary dignity, was given to those who were part of the greater nobility, and held lands by Grand-Serjeanty, or of the King in Capite [o]; whence it had its origin of *Ðenian*, *ministrare* [p], because they were the King's immediate tenants by personal service, which at all times hath been the privilege of subjects of the highest rank, and great alliances. This was the case with *Orm*, for, besides that he himself had married the coheir of Earl *Aldred*, *Aelfleda*, her elder sister, was wife

[m] Vide Dugd. Bar. sub titul. *Albini* als. *Mowbray*, *Stuteville* & *Wake*.

[n] Quidem *Tain* in Eoverwicschire, nomine *Orm*, filius *Gamellonis*, accepit uxorem unam ex quinque filiabus *Aldredi* comitis *Etheldritham*, ex qua genuit filiam nomine *Ecghfridam*, ex qua *Eilsi de Teise* genuit *Waltheof*, & duos ejus fratres, et *Edam* sororem eorum. Sim. Dun. col. 82. n. 30.

[o] Selden's Tit. Hon. p. 507.

[p] Sax. Dict. sub titul. *Ðegen* & *Ðenian*.

to Earl Siward [q], whom Tosti succeeded in the Earldom of Northumberland; and Aldgitha another married Lyulph, a Saxon Thane in Durham, ancestor of the Lords Lumley, and of Richard, now Earl of Scarbrough [r]. The same authority [s] also informs us, that *Gamel*, son of Ormus (which perhaps should be read *Orm*), was put to death by Earl Tosti, in his own chamber at York [t], which probably might be from the great influence which his possessions and alliances might give him in opposing the ambitious designs of that Earl, and furnishes another proof of the date of the inscription; as from the disgust that *Orm*, the son of *Gamel*, must naturally have had to the murderer of his father, and the usurper of the Earldom of his nephew [u], would prevent his noticing Tosti in any memorial erected after his expulsion in 1065, and corroborates the conjecture, that the inscription was engraved, and the church rebuilt, before the flight of that Earl into Flanders.

EILSIUS, or Elsi de Teise, who married Ecgfrida, the daughter of *Orm*, son of *Gamel*, in consideration that her mother was daughter of Aldred, Earl of Northumberland, and granddaughter of Ecgfrida, daughter of Aldune, bishop of Durham, had with her the lordships of Bermetun and Skirningeim [w], which, together with Eltune, Carlune, Heaclif, and Heafeldene, all in Durham, had been given by Aldune, with Ecgfrida his daughter in marriage to Uctred, Earl of Northumberland, father of Earl Aldred. By the said Ecgfrida, daughter of *Orm*,

[q] Vinc. N° 2. F. 97, in Coll. Armor.

[r] Vinc. N° 20. F. 117, in eod. Colleg.

[s] Sim. Dunelmens. col. 102. n. 60.

[t] Drake's Ebor. p. 82.

[u] viz. Walthesof, fil. Siwardi & Aelfledae, sororis Etheldrithae uxoris *Orm*.

[w] Dugd. Bar. Vol. 1. p. 3.

Elfi had issue, Waltheof, two other sons, and a daughter Eda; which Waltheof was to have fought against Cospatric, son of Cospatric, son of Arkil, by Sigrida, his wife, daughter of Kilvert, son of Sigulf, a Saxon Thane in Yorkshire, and second husband of Ecgfrida, daughter of Aldune, bishop of Durham. But further concerning the posterity of *Orm*, son of *Gamel*, does not appear; and it is probable, that at the Conquest, they, like many others of the Saxon nobility, were reduced to a mean estate; but I have sent you a genealogical table of his alliances, extracted from the pedigree of the ancient Saxon Earls of Northumberland in my baronage, which in these relations much helps to elucidate their history, and which is chiefly composed from the Chronicle of Simeon of Durham. I am happy also in having for its authority, the notes and observations of the ingenious and learned Augustine Vincent, Esq. Windsor Herald, and Keeper of the Records in the Tower in the last century, who hath inserted it in two of his valuable manuscripts, now deposited in the library of this college [x].

THIS inscription is not more remarkable for its antiquity, than the particulars it affords, which, though not of any great consequence, are more in number than occur in any other that has hitherto been met with. First, there was a church erected at this place before the eleventh century, which being demolished previous to the Conquest, either by the Danes, or by Tosti in the feuds which distressed this county during his government of the Northumbrian kingdom, when *Gamel*, father of *Orm*, lord of the manor, and all the adjacent country, was slain; it was after rebuilt by *Orm* the son, of whom, and his connexions, we have happily a particular account from

[x] Vinc. N^o 20. F. 117. and N^o 2. F. 97.

the most authentic records [y]. Secondly, we have the architects of the new church specified, *Chebite*, and his associates. 3dly, the time to a reasonable degree of precision. 4thly, the church continued sacred to the same Saint after its re-edification, as it was before, which was not always the case, the Saint or Patron being sometimes varied upon a re-consecration; whereupon it may be also further noted, that *Christ* is here conjoined with the particular, or more immediate Saint, as was frequent: *God*, or the blessed Virgin, or our Saviour, often occurring in the dedication of churches along with the local tutelary. 5thly, the name of the workman who engraved the inscription, *Hawarib*. 6thly, the name of the incumbent of the living, or priest, *Brand*.

THE situation of *Kirkdale* church is extremely beautiful and romantic, though the building itself makes but a mean appearance, as you will see by the draught, having little worth observation, except the inscription, either externally or within. It is situated in a fruitful vale, surrounded with hanging woods, and watered with a brook; the whole secluded from the world, being far removed from any inhabitants, and well adapted to give us an idea of the wisdom and piety of our Saxon ancestors, in choosing for such a purpose, a situation so well calculated to inspire with devotion.

HUGH Fitz-Baldric, to whom the Conqueror gave the estate which had belonged to *Orm* the son of *Gamel* in these parts,

[y] I must in this place observe, that though the Chronicles of the Monks are generally esteemed as legendary and of little authority; yet when, at the distant period of 700 years, we find monuments of this nature produced, which so evidently evince the existence of the parties mentioned therein, it considerably adds to their weight, and serves to remove the stigmas which have usually been thrown upon them.

had

had issue, Erneburga his daughter and sole heir, married to Robert de Stuteville, or de Stutta villa, son of Robert de Stuteville, surnamed Grandeboef, or de Fronte Bovis[*z*], a Norman, who in her right was possessed thereof: but in the 7th year of Henry I. Robert his father, fighting in behalf of Robert Curt-hose, at the battle of Tinchebray in Normandy, against King Henry, was there taken prisoner, and sent into England; whereupon the King seized upon all the lands belonging to him and his son, and gave them to Nigell de Albini, ancestor of the noble family of the Mowbrays, Dukes of Norfolk [*a*].

NIGELL de Albini held the estate till his death, and was succeeded by Roger de Mowbray his son [*b*], who, while in possession of Kirby-Mortheved, gave *Wellburne* a member thereof, and the tithes of the same, to Rievaulx abbey, near Helmesley, which had then been lately founded by Walter Espec, ancestor to the Lords Ros; but in this charter he particularly excepts the church of *Wellburne* and six bovates of land belonging thereto [*c*], which he afterwards gave to the Abbey of Newburgh, of his own foundation, in these words: “*Et ecclesiam de Welleburne, cum sex bovatis terrae; et vallem ubi ipsa ecclesia sedit, cum capellâ de Wimbelton, cui duae bovatae terrae adjacent* [*d*]:” and this must have been the occasion of the agreement before-mentioned, between the Monks of Rievaulx, and

[*z*] Liber Niger. F. 453. 4 D. 14. P. 113. in Coll. Armor.

[*a*] R. Hoved. 270^o, n. 10.

[*b*] This Roger assumed the name of Mowbray on account that the estate of Roger de Molbray, Earl of Northumberland, forfeited for treason, had been given to Nigell or Albini his father, by Hen. I. Dugd. Bar. vol. I. p. 123.

[*c*] Lib. Rieval. Julius D. I. Chart. N^o XI. in Bibl. Cotton.

[*d*] Mon. Anglic. vol. II. p. 190^o.

the Canons of Newburgh, concerning the church of St. Gregory of *Kirkdale*, in the 2d of Richard I. [e].

IN the 23 Hen. II. Robert de Stuteville, who had married Erneburga, the heir of Hugh Fitz Baldric, who succeeded Orm, laid claim to the barony of Roger de Mowbray, which had been forfeited to the crown for the rebellion of Robert Grandboef his father; whereupon they came to an agreement that Roger de Mowbray should restore the lordship of Kirkby-Morsheved, with its appurtenances, including *Wellburne*, to the said Robert de Stuteville, to hold of him by the service of nine knight's fees [f].

BEING thus repossessed of his estate, he was succeeded by Robert his son, who seems to have confirmed all the religious grants which Mowbray his predecessor had made to various monasteries of the lands of his inheritance while in his possession; and (*inter alia*), for the welfare of the souls of himself, of Robert his grandfather, Robert his father, Erneburga his mother, Helewife his wife, and, with consent of William his son, and his other sons, he confirmed to the Monks of Rievaulx, *Welleburne* with its appurtenances, which had been the inheritance of his ancestors [g]; in which charter, in describing the boundaries of the manor, as it had formerly been perambulated by Roger de Mowbray and his men of Rydale, he mentions *Ecclesia de Kirkedald*. This is noticed, because it adds a further proof, that the church has been indiscriminately called *Wellburne*, and *Kirkdale*, and confirms its situation within the berewick of *Wellburne*, of which Orm, the son of Gamel, was lord in the time of Edward the Confessor; having doubtless

[e] Page 192.

[f] R. Hoveden 456^b. n. 30 and 40.

[g] Lib. Rieval, p. 38 and 83.

assumed the latter name from the dale, or *vallis*, *ubi ipsa ecclesia sedet*, as expressed in Roger de Mowbray's charter to the Abbey of Newburgh.

THE Stutevilles continued to flourish as barons in the North of England, till the time of Henry III. Kirkby-Morsheved, and Cottingham near Beverley, which was also given to Hugh Fitz-Baldric their ancestor by the Conqueror [b], being the heads of their barony; but in that reign they expired in an heir-female married into the family of the Lords Wake, who founded Cottingham Priory [i], and have many ages since lost their great estates in Yorkshire. But there are families in the county who yet inherit property by descent from the Stutevilles, particularly Sir William S'Quintin, bart. his manor of Harpham; and Sir Griffith Boynton, bart. the manor of Burton-Agnes, through the heirs of Griffith, barons Somerville, barons Morley of Morpeth, Stuteville, and Fitz-Baldric; Hugh Fitz-Baldric being lord thereof by the name of *Borbeton*, when Doomsday-Book was made [k].

THE Abbey of Newburgh continued in possession of the patronage of Kirkdale till the dissolution; when I presume it was leased to John Nevile, Lord Latimer, who had a considerable estate in these parts. For that nobleman, by his will, dated 12th September 1542, 34 Hen. VIII. proved 15th March following [l], leaves to his daughter Margaret 500 marks, and

[b] Doomsday Book.

[i] Vide the curious seal of this priory, engraved among the Society's plates. From J. Warburton, the possessor in 1720, it came to T. Martin of Palsgrave, from him to J. Ives of Yarmouth, and was purchased at the sale of his collection in 1777, by Gustavus Brander, Esq. F. S. A. the present owner.

[k] Autogr. penes me.

[l] Vinc. N^o 31. p. 187. in Colleg. Armor.

his lease of the parsonage of *Kirkdale*. From this lady it came to Elizabeth her niece, daughter and coheir of John Nevile, Lord Latimer, who married Sir John Danvers, of Dauntsey in Wiltshire, knight [m], and had issue Henry Danvers, created Earl of Danby, who was possessed of it, and gave it to the university of Oxford, I suppose anno 1632, when he founded the physic garden there, for they are the present owners. The arms of this nobleman, a cheveron between three mullets of fix points, pierced, and surmounted with an Earl's coronet; together with those of the university of Oxford, are painted on the wall of the chancel.

THERE are three manors in the parish of *Kirkdale: Wimbleton*, which is part of the great estate that Thomas Duncombe of Duncombe-Park in Helmesley, Esq. enjoys in this county, *Nawton* belonging to William Whitehead of Nawton, Esq. who has a lease of the rectorial tithes of the whole parish from the university of Oxford, and pays a stipend of £. 10 *per ann.* to the curate; and *Welburne* to George Strangeways Robinson, of Welburne, Esq. whose grandfather acquired it by marriage with the heiress of Gibson of *Welburne*. The latter gentleman is the eldest branch of the ancient house of Strangeways, formerly of great account in this, and other counties [n], who changed their name in the beginning of the present centuy for the estate of the Robinsons of Thornton-Riseborough. His family bury at *Kirkdale*, and within the altar rails are some elegant monuments erected to them and the Gibsons.

I AM afraid you will think I have been too prolix in elucidating this inscription, and the place; but as it is really very

[m] Dugd. Baron. vol. I. p. 313. and vol. II. p. 416.

[n] Vide C. 40. C. 22. C. 5. 2d D. 5. &c. in Coll. Armor.

singular,

singular, and is conceived in a character and language not familiar to all, I was willing to make it as plain and intelligible as I could; and therefore hope I shall stand excused, though I have dwelt longer upon it, than perhaps you may deem needful. However I shall detain you no longer than to say, that

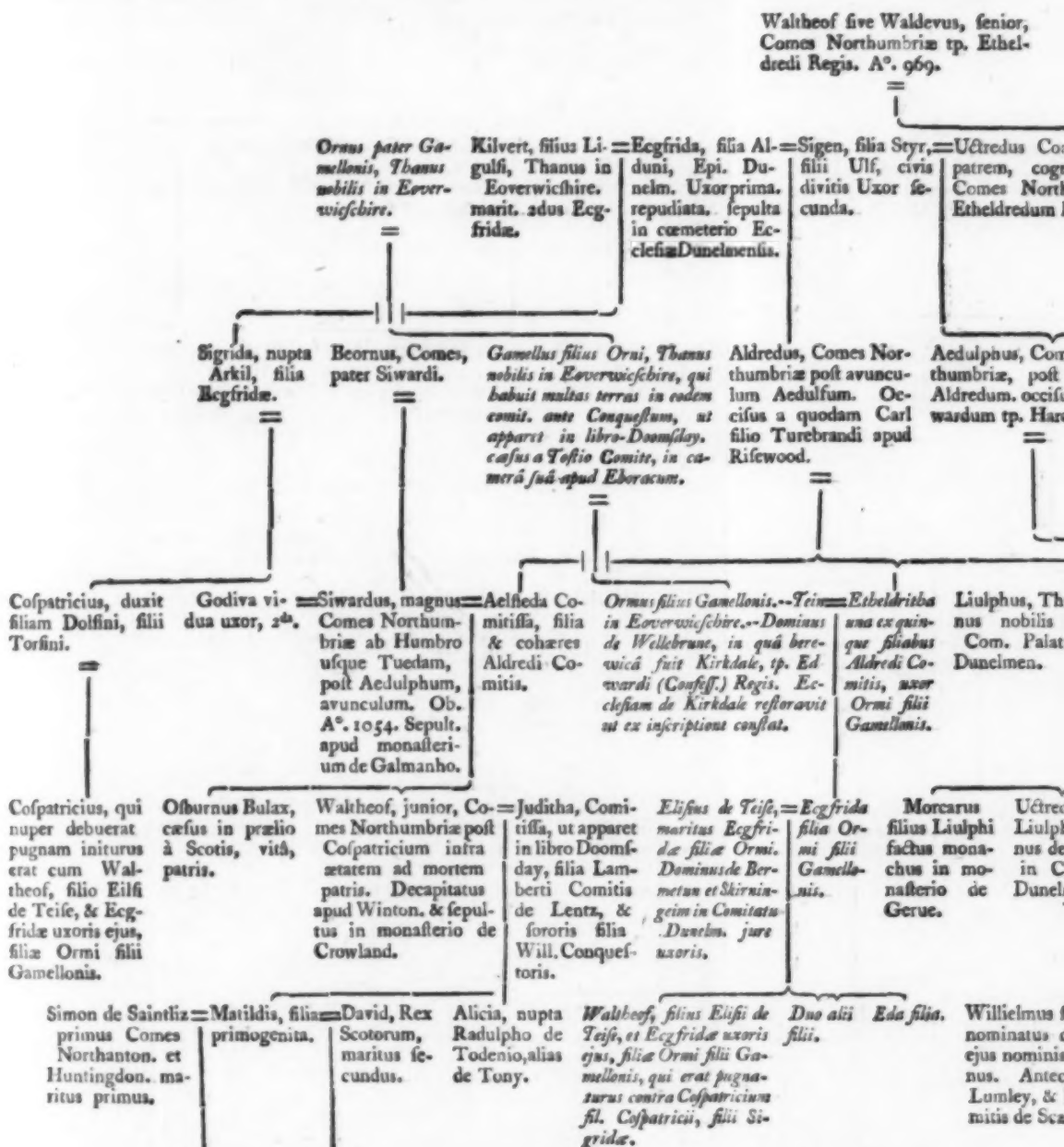
I am,

Dear Sir,

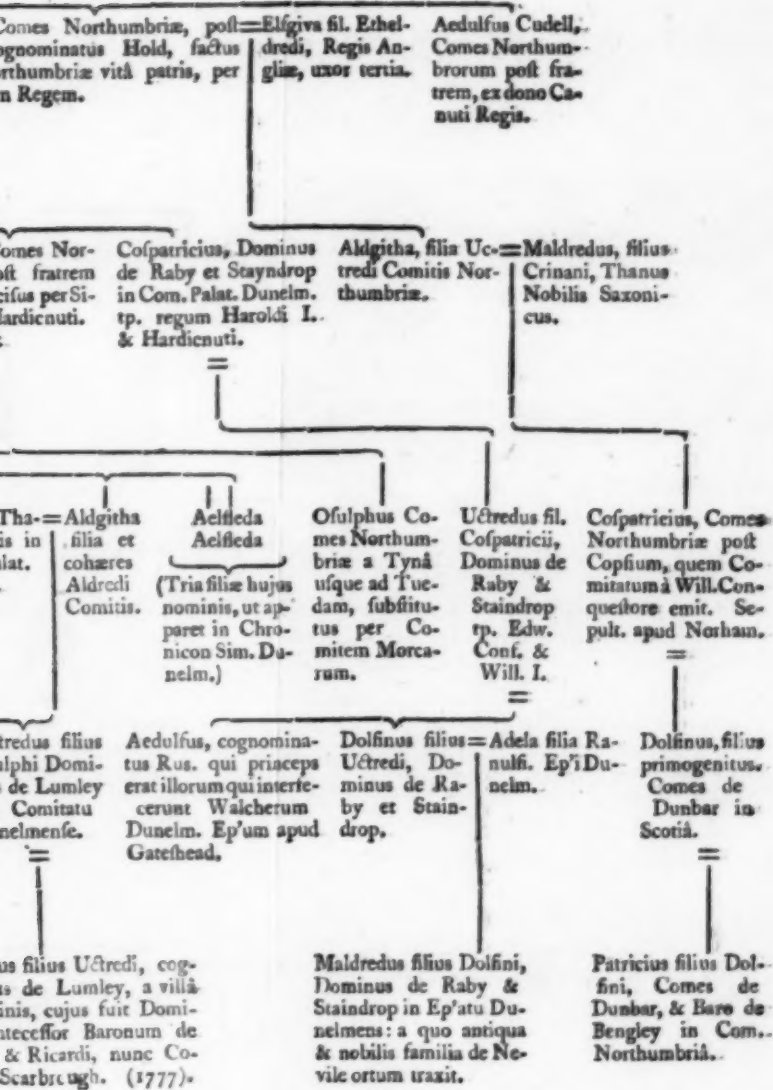
Your's, &c.

J. C. BROOKE, R. C.

Tabula Genealogica antiquorum Comitum Northumbriæ ante Conquestum; in quâ appar-
temp. Edvardi, Confessoris, Regis, & qui Eo



parent Stemmata Orni filii Gamellonis, Domini de Kirkdale,
ecclesiam restoravit.



XVIII. Description of two Roman Camps in Gloucestershire. By Hayman Rooke, Esq. F. A. S. In a Letter to the Secretary.

Read Feb. 6, 1777.

David-street, Feb. 3, 1777.

SIR,

I TAKE the liberty of sending you the inclosed drawings and description of two Roman forts in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire, hitherto undescribed. If you think them worthy the notice of the Society, I must beg you to communicate them in such manner as you shall judge proper.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant;

H. ROOKE.

LYDNEY Park is the seat of Thomas Bathurst, Esq. about eight miles East of Chepstow, a spot abounding with pleasing prospects and romantic scenes, unassisted by art, and which may justly be said to equal the so much celebrated Pearcefield.

HERE, on two hills of considerable eminence, stand two camps or forts, overlooking the Severn, and which, with some works on the opposite side, on a spot now called Oldbury, mentioned by Camden, entirely command the passage of that river, supposed, formerly, to have been not more than one fourth of its present breadth; which supposition is not only corroborated by a tradition, that people at harvest-work, on the opposite banks, about a century and a half ago, could discourse together, but also by the remains of a number of oak trees, visible at low

D d 4.

water.

208 *Major ROOKE's Description of two Roman Camps.*

water, all laying one way, that is with their roots to the North-East; the soil on which they grew having, as is imagined, been washed away by the encroachment of the tide.

THE largest of these camps, which is of an oblong form, in length 820 feet, and 370 in breadth, stands on the northernmost, or highest hill; and is surrounded with a single ditch, except towards the East end, where the descent being less steep, it has a double one. South of this is another hill, separated by a valley about 28 yards over. On this there is a small round camp or fort, encompassed likewise by a single ditch. This hill, on account of the fine prospect seen from it, is called Mount Pleasant.

As the command of such a river as the Severn made these parts of considerable consequence, they were undoubtedly entrusted to officers of some rank, and accordingly they appear to have all necessary accommodations for the Roman stile of living. Near the Western edge of the largest work, a very elegant bath is still pretty entire; a drawing of which is published in the Antiquarian Repertory. There are also in other parts, the foundations of divers buildings, some of which had tessellated pavements. Various Roman coins are found here, particularly a silver one of Galba, with many of Adrian and Antoninus.

As there are no traces of any encampment in Alvington parish, we may conclude, that these were the first stations occupied by the second Legion after they crossed the Severn.

Pl. XV. exhibits plans of the two camps.

Nº 1. In the larger is the Roman bath.

2. Foundations of buildings where coins and pieces of tessellated pavement are found.

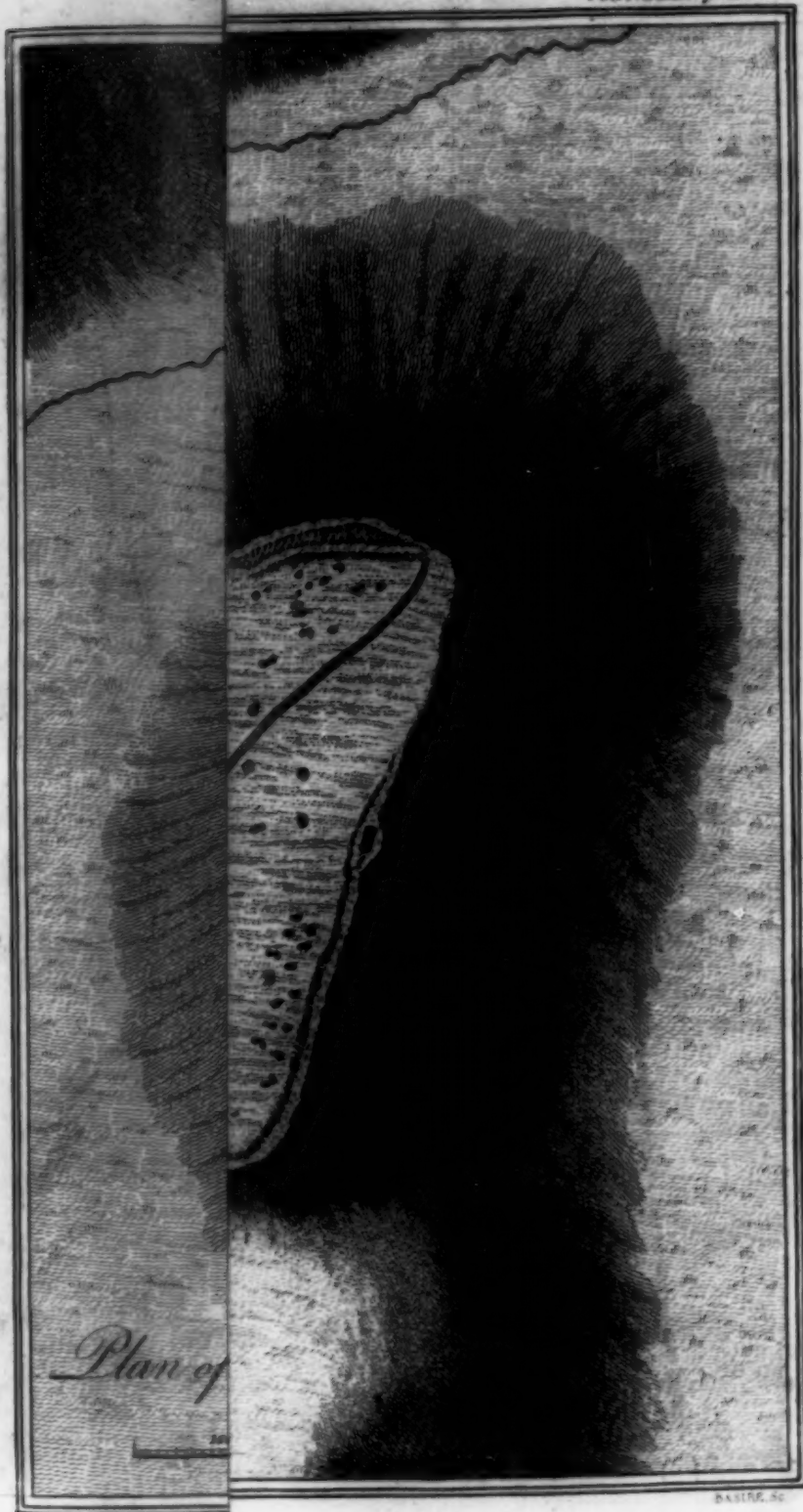
3. A road through the camp.

4. A road made since the time of the Romans.

THE two plates XVI. represent different views of these camps.

I

XIX. An



Plan of

Description of two Roman Camps.

y, that is with their roots to the North-
ch they grew having, as is imagined,
the encroachment of the tide.

e camps, which is of an oblong form,
370 in breadth, stands on the northern-
and is surrounded with a single ditch, ex-
tend, where the descent being less steep,
outh of this is another hill, separated by
over. On this there is a small round
ed likewise by a single ditch. This hill,
prospect seen from it, is called Mount

such a river as the Severn made these
nsequence, they were undoubtedly en-
ne rank, and accordingly they appear to
modations for the Roman stile of living.
e of the largest work, a very elegant
e; a drawing of which is published in
ry. There are also in other parts, the
uildings, some of which had tessellated
oman coins are found here, particularly
ith many of Adrian and Antoninus.

ces of any encampment in Alvington
e, that these were the first stations occu-
on after they crossed the Severn.

os of the two camps.

the Roman bath.

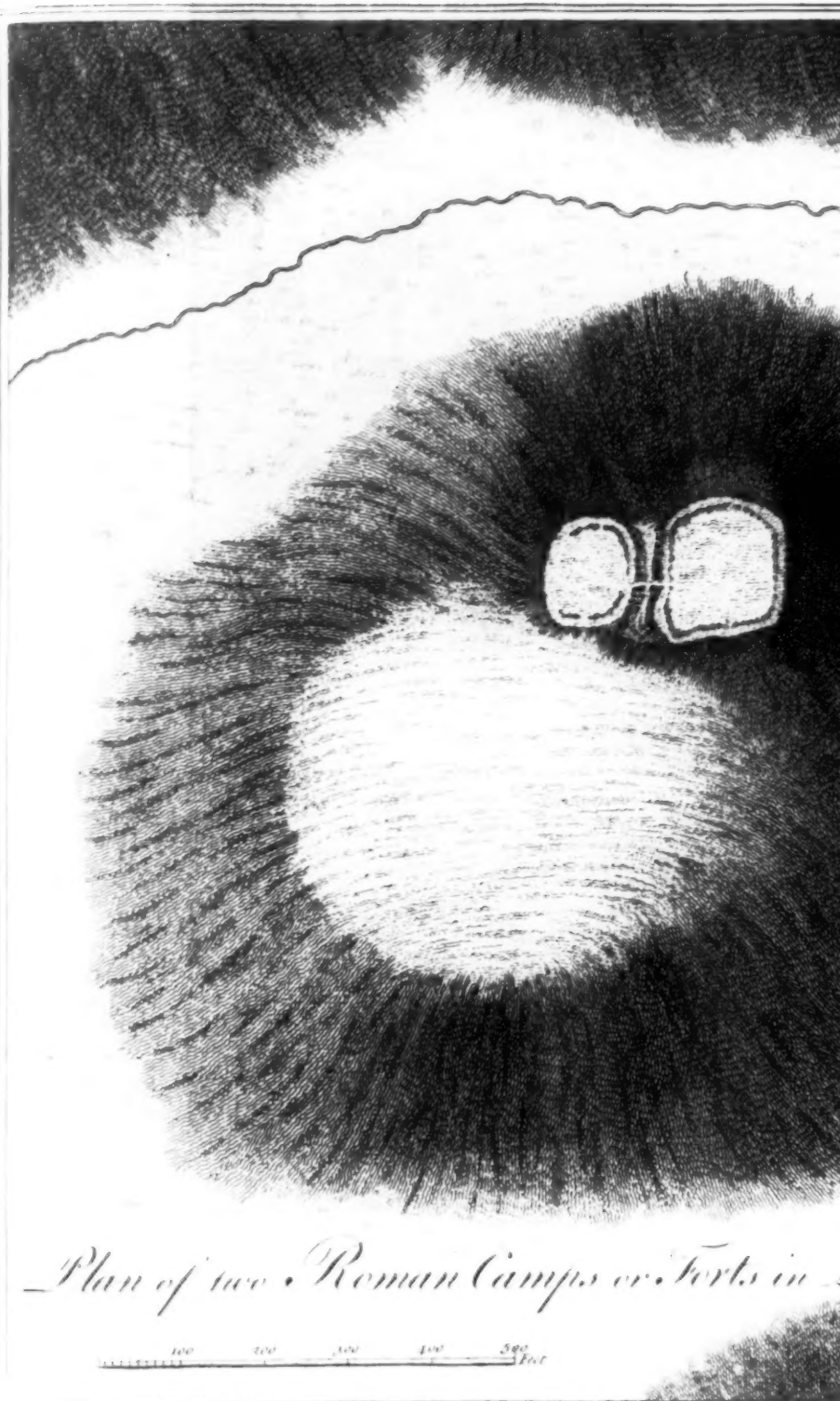
f buildings where coins and pieces of
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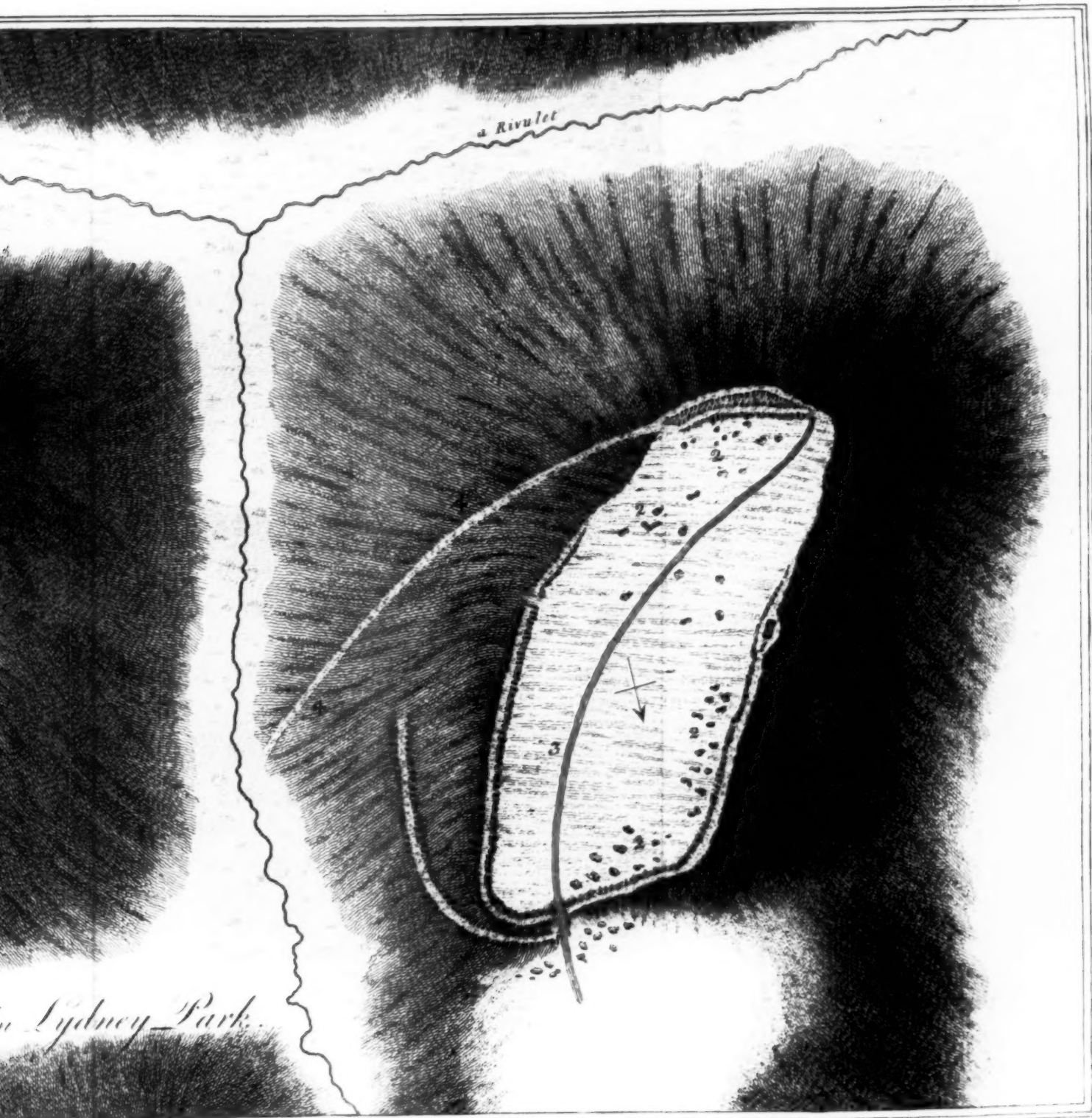
represent different views of these camps.

XIX. An

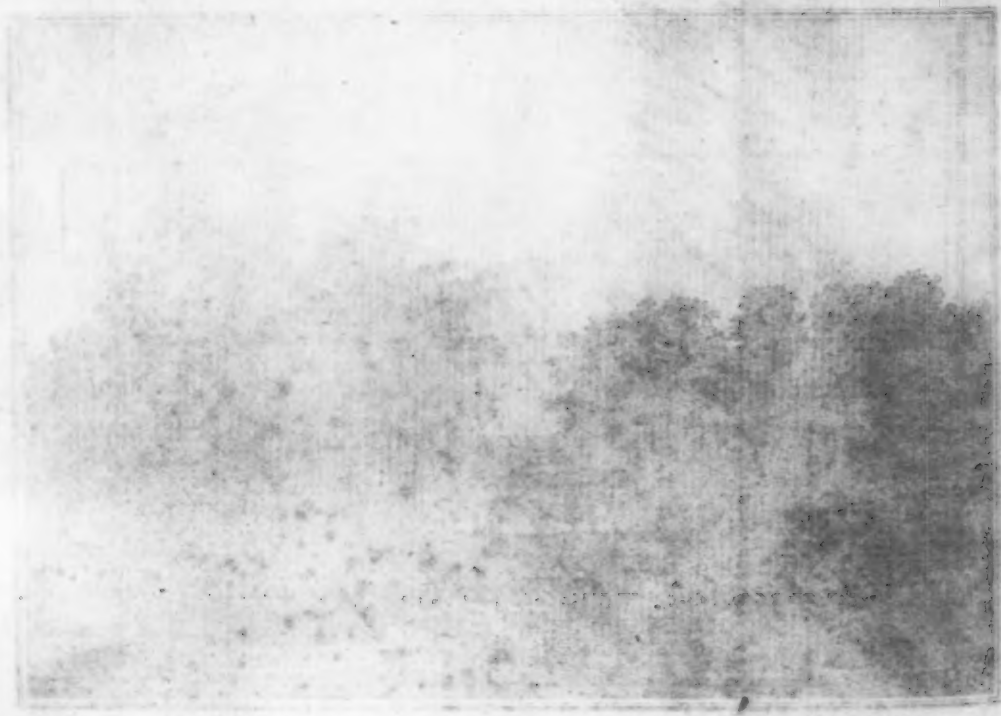
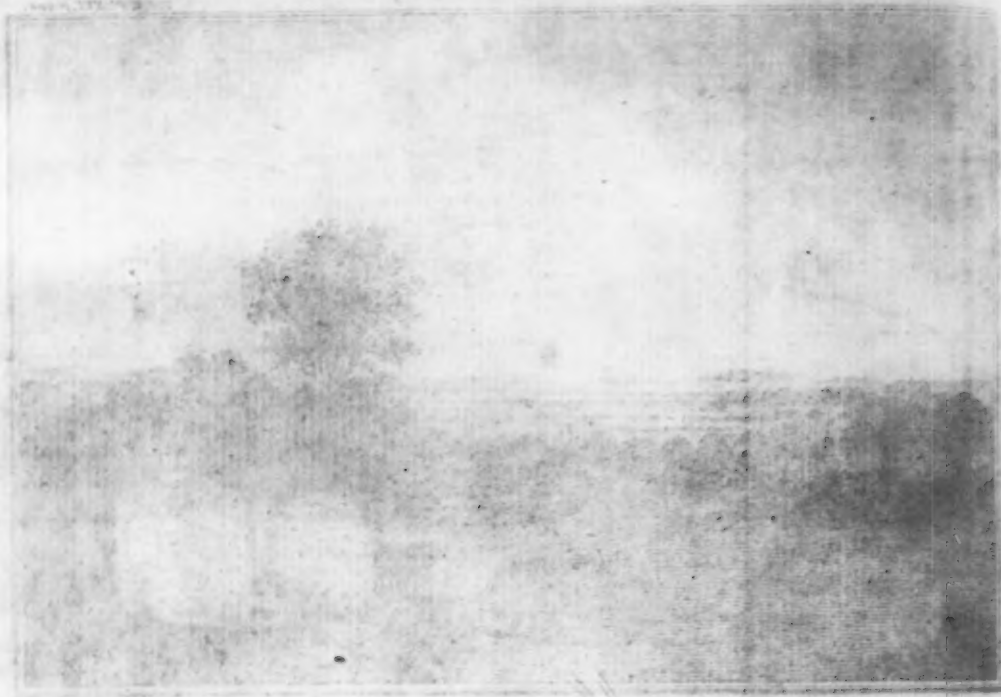


Plan of two Roman Camps or Forts in

0 100 200 300 400 500
Feet



View from the entrance of the Chesapeake Bay, looking North



View from the entrance of the Chesapeake Bay, looking North

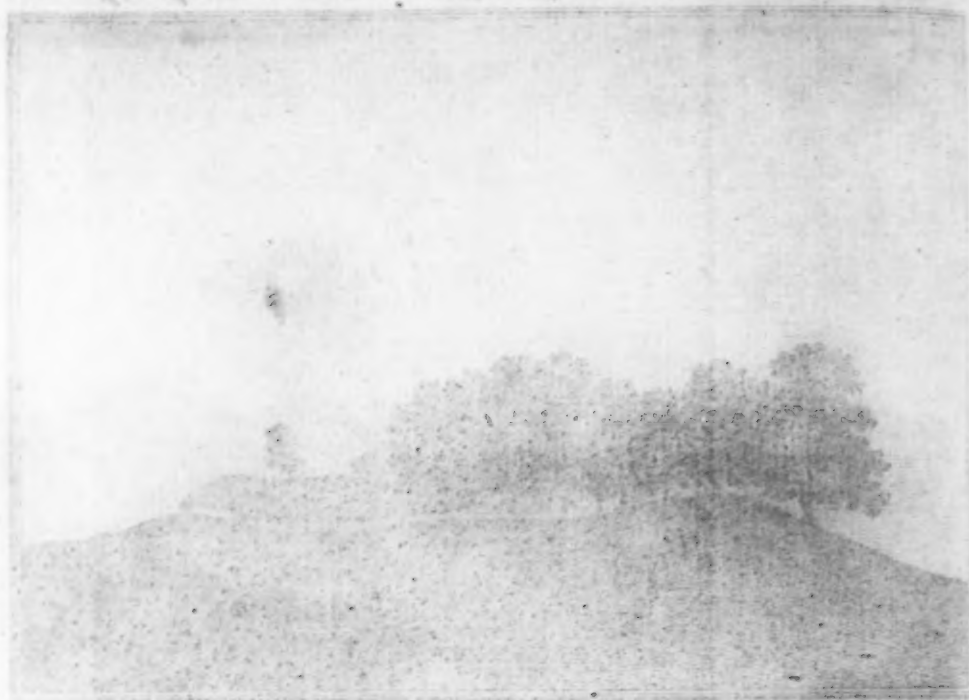
View from the entrance of the Roman Camp on Mount Pleasant.

Vol. V. Pl. XII. p. 100.



View of the entrance of the largest Roman Camp.

J. E. Fox of the Boston Company, Mount Pleasant, N. York



View of the Valley from the Mount Pleasant, N. York

S. E. View of the Roman Camp on Mount Pleasant, Sydney Park

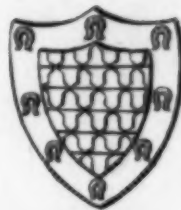


Barro Sc.

View of the Valley between the two Roman Camps.



*Ancient Arms
of Ferrers.*



*This Coat borne
by Will^m de Ferrers
Earl of Derby temp.
Hen. III.*



*Arms of Ferrers
after the Match with
Quincy as represented
on the Seal.*



*as Collet. Sigill. Baron.
in Bibl. Johan. Carol. Broche
de Collog. Armor.*

XIX. An Account of an ancient Seal of Robert, Baron Fitz-Walter, produced at the Society of Antiquaries, 30th January 1777. In a Letter to the Hon. Daines Barrington, Vice-President. By John-Charles Brooke, Esq. of the Herald's College.

Read Feb. 6, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

THE elegant Seal [a] produced by you at the last meeting of the Society, belonged to Robert the 5th Baron Fitz-Walter, who was son of Walter, and grandson of Robert, Lord Fitz-Walter, Marshal of the Army of God and Holy Church, as appears by the shield of arms under the horse's head, which bears the coat of his 2d wife, who was a *Ferrers*.

This Lord, who in respect of valour and great exploits, equalled any of his ancestors, was born at Henham in Essex,

[a] This Seal was found at Stamford in Lincolnshire, in the reign of Charles II. and was given to Robert Saunderson, then bishop of Lincoln, whose great-grandson John King, Esq. of Ashby de la Launde in Lincolnshire, sold it to the Rev. Richard Neate, LL. B. of Whetstone in the county of Middlesex, the present possessor, who obligingly, by Mr. Barrington, communicated it to the Society. It is of silver, the exact size of the engraving, and weighs seven oz. and seven penny weights. See pl. XVII.

VOL. V.

E c

anno

anno 1249 [b], and married to his first wife Dervorgil, daughter and coheir of John de *Burgh*, Baron of Llanvaley, who dying in 1284, he married, 2dly, in 1298, Eleanor daughter of Robert de *Ferrers*, Earl *Ferrers*, and Earl of Derby, who also died in the year 1304 [c]. As her arms are represented on the Seal, the time when it was engraved may be ascertained within six years; for, had it been during the life of his first wife, her coat would doubtless have been inserted; and he himself died 32 Edward I. [d] though Dugdale erroneously dates his death 19 Edw. II. [e] which is wrong, as that obiit belongs to Robert his son; so that it must have been executed between 1298 and 1304, 473 years ago.

THE family of *Ferrers* derived their descent from Walchelin de *Feriers*, a Norman, whose son Henry came into England at the Conquest; and was so denominated from *Ferriers*, a small town in Gastinois in France, otherwise called *Ferritres*, from the iron mines with which that country abounded; in allusion to which they bore, for arms, six horse-shoes, either from the similitude of their name to the French *Ferrier*, or because the Seigneurie, from whence they derived it, produced iron, which in those unpolished times, when war was the chief employment, and the nobles so much on horseback, was of such considerable use to their excelling in their favourite diversion of riding: but William de *Ferrers*, Earl of Derby, marrying Margaret, daughter and coheir of Roger de *Quincy*, Earl of *Winchester*, his posterity, in consideration that she was so great an heiress, sometimes used the

[b] Philpot Baron. Ang. in Coll. Arm. f. 199.

[c] Idem.

[d] Dugd. Baron. vol. I. p. 221.

[e] Black Book, p. 493, in Coll. Armor.

arms of *Quincy*, as was anciently usual [*f*], viz. in a red field six mascles gold, as represented on Robert, Lord *Fitz-Walter's* Seal, and as now borne by Edward *Ferrers* of Badfley-Clinton in Warwickshire, Esq. the lineal heir-male [*g*], and quartered by the Right Hon. George Townshend, Baron de *Ferrers* of Chartley, the heir-general of this once great family [*b*].

THE extreme elegance of the workmanship of the Seal might induce a common observer to doubt its antiquity; but there is a piece of history relating to this family, which in some measure will serve to remove an objection of that sort.

THIS Robert, Lord *Fitz-Walter*, possessed Baynard's Castle, near Paul's Wharf, in the city of London, which was then called the Castle of London, and as Constable of the same, enjoyed divers liberties and privileges. What these were, in part, we learn from the manuscripts of the ingenious Robert Glover, who was Somerset Herald in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, from whence they have been printed in Dugdale, Stow, &c.

" THAT he and his heirs should be Banner-Bearers of the
" City of London by inheritance, as belonging to Baynard's
" Castle, and in time of war should serve the City in manner
" following, viz. To ride upon a Light-horse, with twenty
" men at Arms on horse-back, their horses covered with Cloth
" or Harness, unto the great dore of St. Paul's Church, with
" the Banner of his Arms carried before him; and being come
" in that manner thither, the Mayor of London, together
" with the Sheriffs and Aldermen, to issue armed out of the
" Church, unto the same dore on foot, with a Banner in his

[*f*] Vinc. N° 126, page 181, 182, 183. in Coll. Armor.

[*g*] Ex Codice MSS. penes me, vol. I. f. 148.

[*b*] Vide Regist. Stem. Magnatum in Coll. Armor.

“ hand, having the figure of St. Paul depicted with gold
 “ thereon; but the feet, hands, and head, of silver, holding a
 “ silver sword in his hand.

“ AND as soon as he shall see the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, come on foot out of the Church, carrying such a banner, he is to alight from his horse, and salute him as his companion, saying, *Sir Mayor, I am obliged to come hither to do my service which I owe to this City.* To whom the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, are to answer, *We give to you as our Banner-bearer of the City this Banner, to bear and carry to the honor and profit thereof to your power.*

“ WHEREUPON the said Robert and his heirs shall receive it into their hands; and the Mayor, and Sheriffs, shall follow him to the dore, and bring him an horse worth twenty pounds. *Which horse shall be saddled with a Saddle of his Arms, and covered with Silk, depicted likewise with the same Arms:* and they shall take twenty pounds sterling, and deliver it to the Chamberlain of the said Robert, for his expences that day,” &c.

It is natural to suppose, that for this great privilege, exercised in the view of the inhabitants of the principal city in the kingdom, that this Robert, Lord *Fitz-Walter*, would be extremely desirous of perpetuating every thing relating to it, in the most exact manner. In this Seal we see his horse elegantly engraved, and covered with trappings of his arms, so exquisitely represented, that they evidently appear to be of a much finer texture than those commonly used, the muscles of the animal being seen under them; and, as much as engraving can represent drapery, appear to be silk, as described by Glover: and what is remarkable, his arms are carved on the rest behind his saddle, which is a rare instance, and evidently alludes to that which the Mayor of London was to present to him.

WHEN

WHEN the family had to display such instances of their importance in a Seal, it is not extraordinary, that we find the workmanship so much surpassing those we generally meet with of that age; nor is it improbable, but that the most expert artists of the Italian schools might be sought for on the occasion, especially as this Robert was abroad, as it appears, in the *Rotulae Vasconiae*, that he served under Edward I. in his wars in Gascoigne [i].

I HAVE sent you a drawing of another Seal of the same Baron, which he used 28 Edw. I. anno 1300; in which you will observe, that the dragon, which, appears in your Seal under the horse, is used for his supporters [t].

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

J. C. BROOKE, R. C.

Herald's College, 3d Feb. 1777.

[i] Rot. Vascon. 22 Edw. I. m. 1.

[t] *Aspilogia* penes me, MSS. N° 20.

XX. *Description of the Dune of Dornadilla. By the Reverend Mr. Alexander Pope, Minister of Reay. In a Letter to Mr. George Paton, of Edinburgh. Communicated by Mr. Gough.*

Read March 14, 1777.

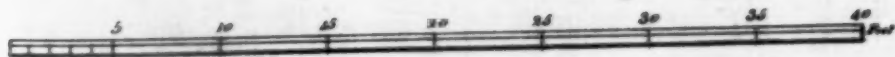
S I R,

THE Dune, or Tower, of Dornadilla^[a], in the parish of Diurnes, on Lord Reay's estate, is situate in a place called Strathmore, on the East side of the river that runs through Strath, on a sloping ground; so that it seems the foundation gave way on that side towards the river, being on a declivity. It stands seven miles from the ocean, or rather ten miles, and from the building to the sea, is a ridge of hills, rising higher and higher till they terminate in the sea, and they are all forest ground, called Bin-hope. There are on the hill near it, several hollows, or pits, which were quarries of old; but fanciful people would make them places where men and dogs lodged in the hunting season.

THE present height of it on the North-east and North sides is twenty-five feet; on the South and South-west nine feet, which are filled up with the falling of the roof and part of the walls. The door, three feet square, fronts the North-east, as in all the round buildings in the North.

[a] See Plate XVIII.

THE



THE thickness of the wall cannot be taken exactly at the bottom, by reason of the heaps of stones about it: but at nine feet from the ground the wall is seven feet thick.

THIS wall is divided into two; the outer-wall is two feet nine inches thick; then a passage or opening betwixt the two walls two feet three inches; the inner-wall is two feet thick. This opening is divided into galleries, which run horizontally round about the building. Each gallery is five feet high, the bottom or floor laid with large flat stones, which gird and bind the whole building compactly together. The common conjecture is, that these galleries were for sleeping-rooms or barracks in the hunting season.

THIS inner wall, of two feet thickness, was again divided from top to bottom by perpendicular openings two feet and a half wide round about the building, and these openings were full of shelves, formed of large flat stones two feet broad, each shelf two feet and a half distant, and some three feet, from top to bottom. The use of them seems to be to give light and fresh air to those that slept in the galleries, and to hold their quivers, or baggage; and perhaps the lower shelves were cup-boards and presses for their victuals.

WE know not what conveniency they had at the bottom, nine feet being filled with stones.

THE entry to the galleries was from the North side of the door by a stair that went to the top; but, as the stair is not entire, we cannot pretend to describe it. Doubtless it was a very rude piece of architecture.

THREE of the galleries are entire, and goats take shelter in them in snowy weather.

FIVE of the shelves are distinctly to be seen, and parts of them on the fallen side.

THIS

THIS building was at first much higher, and would make a grand figure in a forest.

THE masonry is extremely well done, and there is neither lime or clay in it. The great flat stones seem to be the strength of the building.

It appears to have been roofed after the manner of the round houses, called Pictish houses, of which some are yet entire in the North.

THERE is a fragment of a very old poem still preserved, which mentions Dornadilla as the chieftain or prince for whose sake this building was erected :

Dūn Dornghil Mac Duiff
Or an taobh ri Meira don strha
Seicht mile 3 manir
Er an rod a racha na fir do Gholeñ

" The Dune of Dornghiall the son of Duff, built on the side of the Strath next to Reay, seven miles from the ocean, and in the road by which the warriors, or Cearn, travel to Caithnes."

REAY is in Caithnes, forty miles from this building.

MR. Pennant employed one Mr. Cordiner to travel through this country and take draughts. I saw the gentleman here, and understood he was to go to Lord Reay's country, and view the Dune of Dornadilla; his plan will be more elegant but not more exact, for the measures of the building were taken with the utmost care.

As I find you are fond of these ancient monuments, I resolve to send you a copy of a short Dissertation upon the Pictish buildings,

buildings [δ], which I gave in 1761 to Dr. Pocock, bishop of Ossory, when he travelled through this country. If I judge of you by myself, I presume such a piece of information will not be disagreeable; and I have the vanity to affirm, it is the fullest and plainest upon that subject.

I REMEMBER you wanted to know if the Dune of Dornadilla was of the same kind with those at Glenbeg. As I have not seen and examined those, I cannot tell the difference. I see a plan of them in Mr. Pennant's *Hebrides*, and they seem to come near that kind of building; but whether they have galleries in the thickness of the wall is not mentioned, only they have openings from top to bottom, and those crossed with flat stones as in the Dune of Dornadilla. For my part, I have not been in that country.

SOME would maintain that the Dune of Dornadilla was a Druidical temple; but that cannot be the case, for the Druids made no use of roof'd or covered buildings, and it appears that this building was roof'd like the round Pictish houses; besides, in that age, there were no inhabitants in these parts to worship in any temple.

WHAT has misled some to fancy that it was a Druidical temple, was the name of Dornadilla, which they would have to import something divine. But it is to be observed, that this prince is called *Dornghial*, the son of Duff, in the old poem, still preserved in the North. This name signifies, *a person, with a fair or lady-like hand*; and in these days, it was customary to give names to great men, expressing whatever was singular about their persons; of which many instances could be given, from all ancient histories in Europe. I find, in like manner,

[δ] Mr. Pennant engraved views and sections of these buildings Pl. 46 and 47. additions to his 2d tour in Scotland.

THE fragment of the old poem mentions that the building was on the side of the river next to Reay. Reay is a part of the shire of Caithness, reckoned thirty-two miles, or rather forty-five, from the Dune of Dornadilla. It seems to have been a place of some note in that age, and a late discovery proves the same. Reay is exprest in the Erse [e] *Min-re*, smooth and plain. No place deserved this name better of old, as it consisted of extensive plains, covered with the finest grass and fine corn fields; but as it was situate upon the edge or brink of the Northern ocean, the storms have torn up these plains, and little appears now but bare stones. It is true, the greatest part of the corn ground has escaped, but it has rather got too great a mixture of sand.

It appears that there was a town built in a low ground, near a burn, called *The Burn of Reay*; but sand destroyed it many ages ago. It appeared as a plain of white sand, nor was there any tradition that there was a house built there. But, upon the 27th day of July 1751, a cloud or water-spout fell on the hills, South of Reay, which produced such a flood, that it covered the standing corn in the plain; and coming to sloping ground, it turned to such a torrent, as cut a new channel for itself into the sea. It washed away hills of sand, and on the West side of the Burn of Reay it carried away a high bank of sand, under which we saw the remains of a town. A row of houses appeared in a line, at least the stone walls, six or seven feet high. The people carried away the stones as far as they could, but the bank of sand falling prevented further search. It is probable, that the people in Strathnaver carried on a trade for corn and other necessaries with the town of Reay; and that

[e] Meira, or, Min-ra.

Reay was considered for that reason as a public place, which gave occasion to mention it in this very old poetical fragment.

THE same fragment mentions the warriors, or *caurn*, marching into Caithnes, which is very true. Troops of banditti and robbers came antiently from the Western Highlands to plunder Caithnes; and even Strathnaver men came in troops to rob and carry away corn and cattle. But this was common through all Scotland in those barbarous ages. We have cause to bless God that we live in more happy times. Men are now more industrious, and live more comfortably than their forefathers, after all their fighting and robbing; and, if industry was encouraged, the Highlands would turn out to be the best part of Scotland.

OUR historians say little more of king Dornadilla than that he spent his time in hunting, and was the first that enacted forest laws. It makes it still more probable that he ordered this building in the hills of Diurnes, which is a fine forest at this day: and it is also very probable, that other buildings of the same kind, or nearly of this kind, were erected at that period; such as these at Easterfearn in Ross, at Glenelg, and other places, where they had stone fit for the purpose; for all depended upon good quarries, which are to be found but in few places in forests.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

ALEX. POPE.

Reay, Aug. 27, 1776.

THE

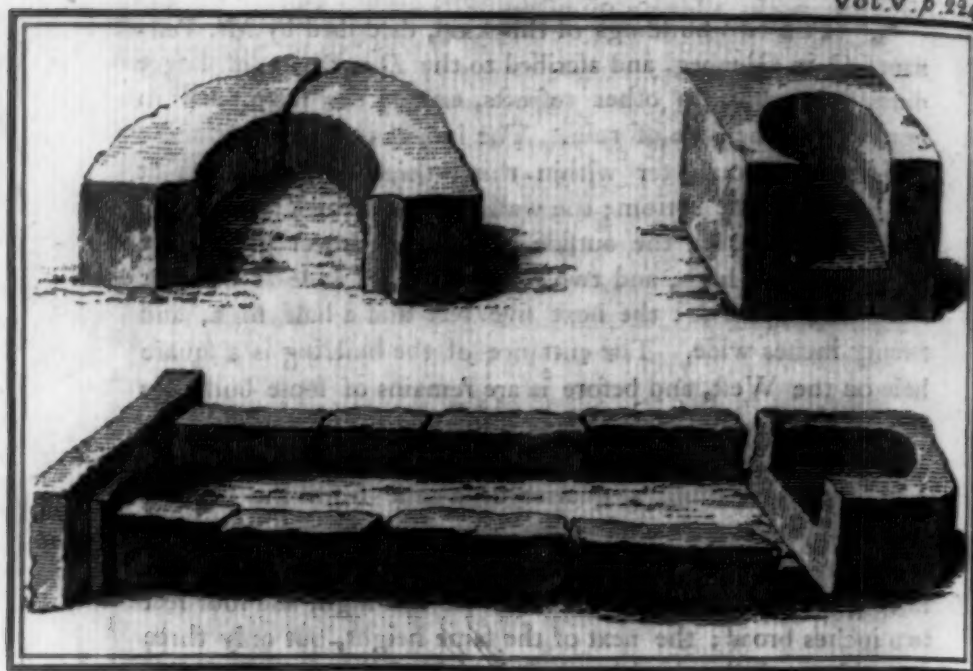
THE two buildings of this kind, described by Mr. Pennant [f] in Glenbeg, and ascribed to the *Danes*, are of larger dimensions; but, in other respects, exactly the same, and in nearly the same state of ruin. The largest is thirty feet and a half high, the diameter within thirty-three feet and a half at ten feet from the bottom; the wall seven feet thick; the inside wall perpendicular, the outside sloping; the lower gallery six feet two inches high, and two feet five inches wide at bottom, narrowing upwards: the next five feet and a half high, and twenty inches wide. The entrance of the building is a square hole on the West, and before it are remains of some buildings like an avenue, and close to this a small circle of round stones, called the foundations of Druid houses, and probably religious. The second building, a quarter of a mile from the first, is twenty-four feet and a half high, one hundred and thirty in diameter; the wall at bottom twelve feet four inches thick has three galleries, the lowest all round six feet high, and four feet two inches broad; the next of the same height, but only three feet wide; and the third inaccessible. Two other such buildings here were intirely demolisht.

THE author of the account of this tower in the *Edinburgh Magazine*, transcribed by Mr. Pennant in his *Voyage to the Hebrides*, p. 340. n. deduces the name of *Dornadilla* from the Irish *Dorn*, a round stone, *na*, of, *Di*, God, and *ulla*, a place of worship, q. d. the round stone place of the worship of God.

THE elevation of this tower was drawn by Mr. Pennant's draughtsman, the section by Mr. Pope.

[f] *Voyage to the Hebrides*, p. 237—340.

XXI. Obser--



**XXI. Observations on the Stone Coffins found at
Christ-Church. By Mr. Pegge. In a Letter to
Gustavus Brander, Esq.**

Read Nov. 13, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

I CANNOT deny myself the pleasure of presenting you with some cursory observations on three very singular stone coffins lately discovered at your seat of *Christ-church Twynham*, of which you was so obliging as to send me a sketch.

THE stone coffin is of very remote antiquity in this island, for the *kist vaen* of the Britons ought, as I apprehend, to be referred to it. Some of these rude sepulchral receptacles I have seen myself in Derbyshire, and others may be found described in Camden[a].

YOUR coffins, which are somewhat more artificial, appear to be a degree of improvement on the former; and there is a circumstance or two attending them, which make them highly worthy of notice. They are composed not of one block, formed by excavation, as the stone coffins often, and very anciently, were[b], but of various, not fewer than ten or eleven pieces; and there does not appear to have been any stone underneath for the body interred to lie upon.

As to the first particular, it may be doubted whether the parties concerned could find any stones proper for the service in the neighbourhood of Christ-church, so they had recourse to Normandy for them (for the stones are apparently French from about Caen), where they either could not obtain a single stone of a competent size, or, as I rather think, were not then possessed of the idea of making use of such an one, and so transported a number of smaller ones. And this I esteem an argument of the antiquity of your coffin, since, in later ages, the stone coffins have always been found composed of one piece, with a lid or cover. Again, I know not whether this might not have been in imitation of the Romans, for though this people at last applied the single stone, as we shall see hereafter, yet Mr. Thoresby tells us, "There was digged up at the same place [a Roman burying ground at York] a sort of coffin made of clay; I have by me part of the bottom, which.

[a] Camden, col. 707. 740. 751. 753. 773.

[b] See below.

" (for the convenience of baking I presume) was divided into
 " several such parts; this is entire as first moulded by the
 " Romans, is 14½ inches long, and almost 11 broad at the nar-
 " rower end, and high 12½ at the broader, &c." [c] He adds,
 that there were in his Museum " fragments also of such a coffin
 " found at *Burgdurum*." All which seems to shew, that at
 first the stone coffins, both among the Britons and Romans,
 consisted of a number of parts, and that the cutting them out of
 a single block was a later improvement; yours consequently is
 of the more antique kind.

THE next and last improvement in the stone coffin, was by
 forming them of a single stone with the mallet and tool; and
 this I ascribe to the Romans; for I apprehend, that during the
 general prevalency of the customs of cremation and urn-burial
 among the Romans, they had not always recourse to the funeral
 pile, but that bodies were sometimes interred whole, and in
 their natural state. I have the suffrages of Kirchman [d],
 Ainsworth [e], and Drake [f]; and this is agreeable also to
 appearances here. Mr. Thomas Beckwith of York, who is
 now a member of the Society, informs me, that hearing of two
 stone coffins, discovered anno 1776, in the new inclosures at
Acomb near York, he had the curiosity to go and view them,
 and saw them lying in the very place where they were found.
 He thinks they are Roman; and the observations on which he
 grounds his opinion are so just and forcible, that I cannot
 but subscribe to it; and shall give them here abbreviately.

" THE coffins were of the coarse grit, the same as that at
 Plumpton near *Knareborough*, which the Romans appear to

[c] Tho esby, Mus. p. 561.

[d] P. 342.

[e] Monum. Kemp. p. 170.

[f] Eborac. p. 63.

have been found of, as many of their works in York are of that stone. The coffins were 2½ inches thick on the sides, and the lids (which had a fillet raised about ¼ of an inch running down the middle) something thicker.

“THEY lay, one for a youth of 12 or 14 years of age, with the feet pointing neatly South; and the other, for a grown person, to the South-West; directions and positions so unusual in Christian burial, that one must conclude the coffins belonged to Pagans, and were more ancient than the conversion of the Romans and Britons in these parts.

“THERE is no account of any church, or religious house, either at, or near, this place; no foundations of any buildings found in plowing. It is about a mile N. W. from *Acomb*, where it is said the body of the Emperor Severus was burnt: and when the lids were on the coffins, they could not be more than one quarter of a yard beneath the surface of the earth.” The man who found the coffins told Mr. Beckwith, that on their being first opened, there appeared something like an human body; but as soon as touched it lost its form, falling down and mixing with the water at the bottom of the coffins.

THESE reasons, Sir, all taken together, may seem sufficient to enforce a belief, that these bodies were interred during the Pagan state of things here. “*Quae cum ita sint,*” says Mr. Ainsworth, “*non compertum videtur omnes illas arcas, quae multis locis effossae apud nos fuerunt, esse Anglo-Saxonum, ut vulgo perhibentur. Sunt enim, quas etsi populi istius esse non abnegaverim, Romanis tamen abjudicare non auesim.*” He concludes, “*Haec obiter dicenda judicavimus, ne quis creationem unicam et perpetuam sepulturae fuisse consuetudinem apud Romanos putaret [g].*”

[g] Monum. Kemp. p. 171.

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I COME,

I COME, now, to the stone-coffin as used by Christians. After cremation ceased, on the introduction of Christianity suppose [b], the believing Romans would generally betake themselves to the use of sarcophagi, and of various kinds, stone, marble, lead, &c. The Romanized and Converted Britons would naturally do the same, and place the bodies East and West. As for the Saxons, they, as successors of the Britons, would incline from the first to adopt their practices, and then after that important event, the arrival of Augustine the monk A. D. 596, and the conversion of the nation thereupon, coffins would universally take place, as likewise the mode of placing the body with the feet to the East. Thus very soon after this, we find St. Awdrey of Ely, laid in a marble coffin; for Sexburga, abbess of Ely, intending to remove the body of her sister Aedilreda, or Awdrey, into the church, directed some of the brethren to seek for a stone “*de quo locellum in hoc facere possent.*” They, finding no stone proper for the purpose in the isle, came to Grantacaester, “*et*” “*mox invenerunt juxta muros civitatis locellum de marmore albo*” “*pulcherrime factum, operculo quoque similis lapidis aptissime*” “*tectum [i].*” The Saxons, you observe, were now greatly improved in stone-cutting, and as this receptacle was found ready prepared [k], one is obliged to conclude, that the custom of making stone-coffins had prevailed there some time before. This is the oldest instance I have met with amongst the Saxons [l]; however, from this time downward, stone-coffins

[b] Ainsworth, Monum. Kemp. p. 175. Thoresby, Mus. p. 560. Kirchman, p. 15.

[i] Bede, lib. iv. c. 19.

[k] Bede would have it understood as a miracle, but be this as it will, a stone you see was to be sought to make a coffin of.

[l] It was A. 695. Awdrey died 679. and this was 169 years after. Bede, l. c. have.

have been discovered all over England, insomuch that it is needless either to name the several places where they have been found, or refer to the numerous authors who have mentioned them.

IN regard, now, to the second point, "that the corps in your "coffins" lay on the ground without any stones under them, bodies were deposited much in the same manner, so far as I have observed, in the kistvaens above-mentioned; and from this circumstance again, your coffins, Sir, appear to be the production of a rude, barbarous, and very unpolished age. You will please to remember, that whereas in a former paper on the birds bones, I ventured to assert your *Twynham* to have been a place very anciently settled; the present very old sarcophagi found there, which must be of the fourth century at least, amount, in my opinion, to a strong additional proof of it. I am, Sir, &c.

Whittington, 19 Feb. 1777.

SAMUEL PEGGE.

XXII. Roman *Antiquities discovered in Essex. Communicated by Mr. King. In a Letter to the Secretary.*

Read March 20, 1777.

SIR,

John-street, March 19, 1777.

I TAKE the liberty, through your hands, to lay before the Society, two small fragments of antiquity, which, on account of their singularity, may deserve some little attention, though it is not possible for me at present to give any very full or satisfactory account of them. They were communicated to me by my worthy friend Doctor Griffith; and I shall add what information he was able to obtain with regard to them.

THE first is a large brick, of a very singular form, oddly ornamented with the representation of some flower, which was

G g 2

found

found in the year 1776, in Mersey island, in the county of Essex. One Mr. Baker, the proprietor of a very considerable farm, in the eastern division of that island, having ordered an old malt-ing-house to be pulled down, and the foundation to be cleared away, a number of these bricks were found in the underpinning.



As a great many pieces of Roman antiquity have been discovered in Mersey island; and to this day there is scarce a grave dug in the church-yard of West Mersey, without breaking through a tessellated pavement, it may seem somewhat probable, that these bricks might be a part of some Roman remains, which were destroyed long before the building of the malt-house, and the materials of which were made use of in the foundations. But as the texture is different from that of other Roman bricks, I should rather suspect they were not of so high antiquity, and am inclined to refer them to later times. Whenever they were made, they seem to have been designed originally as ornaments for the top of some wall, and probably for the parapet of an house, and both their form and dimensions are very singular.

THE other fragment is an earthen vessel, which was found in the summer of the year 1776, near Colchester in Essex.

A LABOURER who had been ordered to dig up a piece of ground there, discovered about thirty vessels of the same sort, empty,

empty, and lying flat, two feet below the surface; but instead of collecting them together, and preserving them carefully, he began immediately to dash them all to pieces, with a view (as he said) "to save himself the plague and trouble of answering the enquiries that would be made about them;" and it was merely by accident that *three* of them were preserved.

It is difficult to conceive what their use could be, as the perforation at the neck is so small, that it is almost impossible to pour any liquor into them; but if I may be allowed to form a conjecture, I should guess they were designed as a sort of lacrymatories, of inferior value. The contents of the vessel are seven ounces and an half troy; and it is remarkable, that one side is gibbous, and the other quite flat. These are indeed trifles hardly worth the regard of the Society; but, on account of their very peculiar form, the inspection of them may be agreeable to some curious persons, who may be able, by comparing them with other remains, to give a more satisfactory account of them. And permit me to add, as an apology for giving you this trouble, that the preserving the remembrance of various odd fragments, either of antiquity or of natural history, as materials for future speculation; and from which, when a sufficient number are collected, we may begin to draw satisfactory conclusions, is perhaps no inconsiderable means of advancing those branches of science; for many things which appear of little importance when seen separately, have been found very useful means of illustrating curious facts when viewed with others collectively.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

EDWARD KING.

Note. The brick is 11 inches in height or length, 6 inches in breadth, 2 inches thick, and the round part, at top, is about 3 inches in diameter.

The lacrymatory (which is of coarse red earth) is about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter in the round part; and its whole length, with the neck, is 9 inches; its thickness in the most gibbous part 2 inches, and the diameter of the perforation of the neck a little more than $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch.

XXIII. *Description of the Great Seal of Queen Catherine Parr, the sixth Wife of Henry VIII. from an Impression in the Collection of Gustavus Brander, Esq; F. R. and A. S. S. By Mr. Brooke of the Herald's College, F. S. A.*

Read May 15, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

THE extreme elegance of the sculpture of the royal seal*, the impression of which you favoured me with a sight of, joined to the circumstance of its being as yet unpublished, has induced me to cause a drawing to be made of it, which, with the following description, you may probably think worth communicating to the Society of Antiquaries.

It belonged to Queen *Katherine Parr* [a], the sixth and last wife of King Henry VIII. and is thus described: "MAG-
" NUM SIGILLŪ DNE KATHERINÆ REGIÆ AGLIÆ,
" FRANCIÆ et HERBINIÆ;" and represents only the armorial ensigns of that lady, with supporters, and surmounted with the imperial diadem.

* PL. XIX.

[a] There is a print of her by Vermeulen, from a portrait by Vanderwerf, Granger I. 58.

THIS

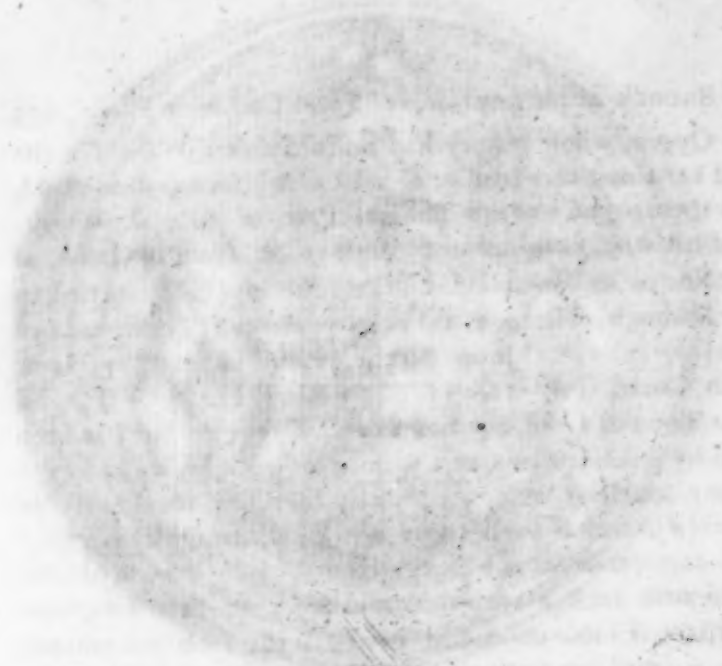
Great Seal of Q. Catharine Parr.

Vol. IV. p. 232.



p. 367.

Great Seal of Q. Mary d'Este & Wife of James II.



THIS Queen, whose history had no inconsiderable share in the annals of her time, was born at Kendal Castle in Westmoreland, and was the daughter of Sir Thomas Parr, of Kendal, knight, by Maud his wife, daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Green, of Green's Norton in Northamptonshire. She was first married to Edward Borough, eldest son and heir-apparent of Thomas, Lord Borough [b], 2dly, to John Nevile, Lord Latimer, 3dly, at Hampton Court, July 12, 1543, to King Henry VIII. and lastly, to Thomas Lord Seymour, of Sudley [c]. She has been described by our historians, as a woman of great beauty, adorned with many excellent virtues, especially humility, the beauty of all others [d], and though twice a widow, retained so many charms, as captivated the fickle Henry, who advanced her to the highest rank a woman could enjoy in this kingdom; and as his wife she conducted herself with such uncommon prudence as saved her from the unhappy fate which befel several of her predecessors. After the death of this prince she became the wife of Thomas Lord Seymour, of Sudley, brother of Edward Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector to Edward VI. whose second wife being of a subtle, haughty disposition, was highly offended that the wife of her husband's younger brother, though the Queen-Dowager, should precede her, which occasioned much trouble to the state in general, and to this family in particular. This Queen, having made her will, dated Sept. 5,

[b] Almost all other writers concur in the mistake of calling this person Edward Lord Borough, or Burgh. But the fact is that this title was first bestowed on his father Thomas, who died 1550, 20 H. VIII.

[c] Sandford's Genral. History by Stebbing, p. 440.

[d] Hayward's life of Edw. VI.

1541, 2 Edw. VI. [e] in which she bequeathed all her goods and chattels to her husband, died shortly after in child-bed at Sudley castle in Gloucestershire, not without suspicion of having been poisoned, to make room for her husband's intended second marriage with the princess Elizabeth, afterwards Queen. She lies buried in Sudley church, where, I am informed, not the least memorial was placed over her.

ON the baron side of the escutcheon are the arms of Henry VIII. France quartering England, and the royal supporter, the lion guardant crowned; on the femme side, the arms of Katherine Parr, quarterly of six, the augmentation granted by Henry to this Queen, Argent on a pile between six red roses, three others white [f]. Henry was exceeding kind in giving arms to his wives, though he deprived them of their heads, and we find four of them particularly distinguished in this manner; Anne Bulleyn, Jane Seymour, Katherine Howard, and Katherine Parr. These augmentations were granted as an especial mark of favour to those families which the King had honoured with his alliance, and were composed of some of his royal ensigns, as this to Queen Katherine, of red and white roses, the badges of the houses of York and Lancaster, and they were always marshalled in the first place, before the paternal coat, as in this seal, *ob reverentiam munificentiae regalis*. The Seymour family have continued to quarter their augmentation to the present time, and it is now borne by the Duke of Somerset, and the Earl of Hertford; but the noble house of Howard, whether from their having a right to quarter the royal arms, prior to the marriage of Henry, with the female of their family, or, from the ill usage she received at his hands, did not continue theirs.

[e] Test. Probat. Dec. 6, 1548.

[f] 2 G. 4-99 in Collegio Armor.

THE 2d quartering of two barrs, and a bordure ingrailed, is the paternal coat of *Parr*. The 3d, three water-bougets, *Ros* of *Kendal*. Sir William Parr, an ancestor of the family, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of John, son and heir-apparent of Thomas, Lord Ros of Kendal[g], with whom he had the barony and castle of Kendal in Westmoreland, afterwards made the chief seat of the family, and where Queen Katherine was born, as has been observed. The 4th quartering is *Marmion*, the 5th *Fitz-Hugh*; Sir William Parr, of Kendal, knight of the garter, grandfather to Katherine, married Elizabeth, daughter to Henry, and aunt and coheir to George, Lords Fitz-Hugh of Ravensworth, by which the family came into a moiety of the large estate of that name; Alice her sister, wife of Sir John Fines, knight, ancestor of Thomas, now Lord Dacre, having the other; and Henry Lord Fitz-Hugh, an ancestor of the family had married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Robert Grey, Lord Marmion [b]. The 6th quartering, three bucks at gaze, is *Green*, the mother of Katherine being Maud, daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Green, of Green's-Norton in Northamptonshire, knight.

WITH regard to the sinister supporter on the seal, I must profess myself absolutely at a loss either to discover what animal it is designed for, or how it comes to be used there. It does not appear to have been any of the royal badges, or the *beast* (for so supporters were anciently called) of the Parr family; William, Marquis of Northampton, brother of Queen Katherine, used on the dexter side a buck, on the sinister a wyvern [i], both extremely different from this animal. It may probably

[g] V. 212. 223. and 369. in Colleg. Armor.

[b] Dugd. Baron. vol. I. p. 405. and 724.

[i] 2 H. 6—19. in Colleg. Armor.

234* *Mr. BROOKE on the great Seal of Queen Catherine Parr.*
afford amusement to such members of the Society as are
skilled in Zoology to discover it.

As the funeral of this princess has been hitherto unpublished,
I have sent, for your entertainment, the procession, from my col-
lection of ceremonials, N^o VI. originally copied from a book in
the Cotton library.

FUNERAL of QUEEN KATHERINE PARR.

"A BREVIA TE of th'entirement of the Ladye Katheryn Parre,
" Quene Dowager, late wife to Kinge Henrye theight, and afre
" wiefe to Sir Thomas Lord Seymer of Sudeley, and highe Ad-
" myrall of Englund.

" ITEM, on Wenysdaye the vth of Septembre, between ij and iij
" of the Clocke in the morninge died the aforesaid Ladye, late
" Quene Dowager at the Castle of Sudley in Glocestreshyre, 1548,
" and lyeth buried in the Chapell of the seid Castle.

" ITEM, she was ceared and chestd in leade accordinglie, and
" so remaynid in her pryvie Chambre untill things were in a
" redynes.

" Herafter followethe the pvision in the Chappell.

" ITEM, hit was hangid with blacke clothe garnishid with
" Schoocheons of maryagys, viez, Kinge Henrye th'eight and her
" in payle undre the Crowne, her owne in lozenge undre the
" Crowne, also tharmes of the Lorde Admyrall and hers in pale
" without Crowne.

" ITEM, Rayles covered withe blacke clothe for the mourners
" to sytt in with stooles and cufsheons accordinglie, without eyther
" Herfle ma^{ts}, valence, or tapres, saviage ij tapres wheron were ij
" Scoocheons wth stode uppon the Corps duringe the Servyce.

" Th'ordre

"Th'ordre in procendinge to the Chappell.

- "Fyrst ij conductors in blacke with blacke staves.
- "Then Gentlemen and Esquiers.
- "Then Knights.
- "Then Offycers of Houshold with their whyte Staves.
- "Then the Gentlemen Huiſhers.
- "Then Somersset Heraulde in the K's Cote.
- "Then the Corps borne by vi Gentlemen in blacke Gownes with
"theire Hodes on theire Heades.
- "Then xl staffe Torchcs borne on eche side by yeomen rounde
"about the corps, and at eche corner a Knyght for assistaunce
"with their hodes on theyre heades.
- "Then the Ladye Jane, Daughter to the Lorde Marquis of Dor-
"set, Chiefe Mourner, led by an estate, her trayne borne uppe
"by a yonge Ladye [4].
- "Then vi other Ladie Mourners, ij and ij.
- "Then all Ladies and Gentlemen, ij and ij.
- "Then Yeomen, iij and iij in a ranke.
- "Then all other followinge.

"The Manner of the Service in the Church.

"ITEM, when the Corps was sett within the Rayles and the
"mourners placid, the hole Quere began and sange certain Salmes
"in Englishe and reade iij lessons; and afre the iijth lesson the
"mourners accordinge to theyre degrees, and as yt ys accustomyd,
"offerid into the Almes boxe, and when they hadde don, all other,
"as Gentlemen, or Gentlewomen, that wolde.

[4] This was the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey, daughter of Henry Grey, Mar-
quis of Dorset, afterwards Duke of Suffolk, beheaded in the reign of Queen Mary.

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“THE Offeringe don, Doctor Coverdall, the Quene's Almner,
“began his Sermonde, whiche was verie good and godlie, and in
“one place therof he took an occasion to declare unto the people
“howe that there shulde none there thinke, seye, nor spreade
“abrode, that the offeringe which was there don, was don anye
“thing to pffytt the deade, but for the poore onelye ; And also the
“lights which were caried and stode abowt the Corps, were for
“honnour of the parson, and for none other entente, nor purpose ;
“And so wente thorowghe with hys Sermonde and made a god-
“lye prayer ; And th'ole Church e aunswerid and praied the fame
“with hym in th'ende.

“THE Sermonde don, the Corps was buried, duringe which
“tyme the Quere songe *Te Deum* in Englishe.

“AND this don, afre dynner, the mourners and the rest that
“wolde returnid homewarde agayne, all which aforefaid was don
“in a mornynge.”

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

J. C. BROOKE.

Herald's College, 29th April, 1777.

XXIV. *A Description of an ancient Fortification near Christ-Church, Hampshire. In a Letter to Gustavus Brander, Esq; from Francis Grose, Esq; F. A. S.*

Read November 20, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

I SEND you the drawings and description of the entrenchment on Hengistbury Head, and the Camp on St. Catherine's-Hill, the fruit of our joint labours, in the measurement and investigation of which both you and our friend Topham worked so assiduously.

THAT these hitherto unnoticed, or at least undescribed works, are Roman, seems extremely probable, as this country was the chief seat of war in the reign of the Emperor Claudius; where, according to Suetonius, Vespasian, his general, fought more than thirty battles; and again in the time of Dioclesian, when Constantius Chlorus attacked and defeated Allectus.

THE Western side of the harbour of Christ-Church is formed by a point of land, rising towards the sea to a bold head-land or cliff, called *Hengist-bury head*, i. e. *Hengist's*, or the *Stone Horse Hill*; whether from some now forgotten story of the Saxon leader of that name, or from some fancied resemblance of a Horse; a conceit not uncommon in the neighbouring counties, of which.

which the Giant in Dorsetshire, and the White Horse in Wiltshire, are well-known instances. The North side of this point is bounded by the harbour or conflux of the rivers Stour and Avon; both which empty themselves into the sea at the Haven's mouth. About a mile West from the point is a strong entrenchment running cross the peninsula from the harbour to the sea, terminating at both ends with a kind of epaulement or circular return. This work fronts the West, and was constructed to defend the possession of the point against the attacks from the interior country; and therefore evidently seems to have been thrown up by some invaders, who thereby secured the command of the harbour. Near the Northern extremity is a large barrow or tumulus, which was opened some few years ago, when an urn and some human bones were found in it.

THIS entrenchment consists of a double rampart, the inner or easternmost much the highest; between them is a ditch, the bottom whereof is below the level of the natural ground; the extent of this work measures nearly five hundred yards, including the returns. The inner rampart is about twenty-five feet high, and twenty yards thick at the base; the outer one, fifteen feet high, and about ten yards in thickness; the breadth of the ditch, taken from the tops of these ramparts, near twenty-five yards; the slope or talus of the ramparts, forms an angle of about forty-five degrees, with the plane of the horizon: there are three entrances as shewn in the plan*. West of this line are several sand hills appearing somewhat like tumuli.

THE camp, which from its elevated situation seems to have been of the exploratory kind, stands on the Westernmost edge, and about half a mile from the Southernmost foot of a high hill, or rather ridge of hills, nearly a mile and a half North of Christ-Church, and a mile West of the river Avon. These hills are all included under the general name of St. Catherine's Hill, and

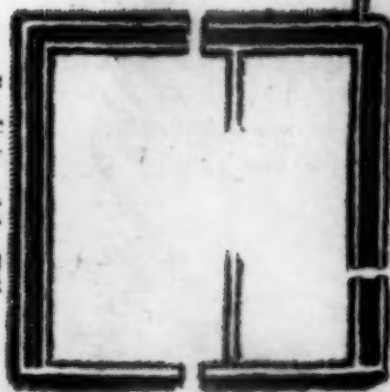
* Plate XX.

Profile of the Entrenchment.



*Plan of the Camp on S^t
Catharines Hill.*

*Small enclosed Area
200 Y^{ds} North of the other*



Profile of the double Vallum



Deeds of the Hill.



afford a most extensive prospect, particularly towards the sea coast. Signals made from hence would be visible over a prodigious tract of country.

THIS work is in figure a square, whose sides are in the direction of the cardinal points of the compass, each measuring in the inside fifty-five yards.

ON the North, East, and West sides, it is surrounded by a double mound or rampart of earth, about eight feet high; between them is a ditch about twenty feet broad. On the South side the rampart seems to have been only single.

THE entrances are on the North, East, and South sides; the West, being near the declivity of the hill, has no entrance. About twenty yards from the East end of the North side runs a small rampart, tending South, which loses itself near the middle, but appears again near the South front, with which it unites.

ROUND about the North, North-east, East, South-east, South and South-west sides, are six small mounts, whether tumuli, speculatory mounts, or hillocks thrown up for the more humble occasions of husbandry, seems doubtful. Near the North end of the town, and not far from the foot of the hill, are two large tumuli or barrows; one of which being opened by the orders of Mr. Clerk, Lord of the Manor about two years since, some bones were found.

THE East side of this work seems to have been continued sixty yards Northward, where it meets nearly at right angles a line running East and West, which crossing it extends thirty yards to the Westward of the prolonged side, and one hundred and forty yards East of it. A small distance from its Eastern termination is one of the tumuli above-mentioned.

ABOUT three hundred yards North of this line is a small area in the shape of a leaf or triangle, with its angles rounded off, inclosed

240 *Mr. GROSE's Description of an ancient Fortification.*

closed with a rampart; its greater diameter pointing East and West, and measuring thirty-five yards; its medium transverse diameter is twenty-five yards: its figure will be best conceived by the plan.

IT is necessary to observe, that these plans were not taken with any instrument; but as both you and Mr. Topham can testify were accurately placed. The smallness of the scale on which these drawings are made renders them rather illustrations than correct delineations.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

FRANCIS GROSE.

XXV. *An Account of ancient Monuments and Fortifications in the Highlands of Scotland. In a Letter from Mr. James Anderson, to George Wilton, Esq; of Lincoln's-Inn.*

Read Nov. 27, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

NOTHING seems to be so well calculated for throwing light on the origin of nations, as an attention to the radical construction of the language of the people, and to the nature of those monuments of remote antiquity that have escaped the ravages of time.

Much has been written about the origin of the Scottish nation. And although some attention has been paid to the nature of the language of the natives, the antiquities of the country have been in a great measure disregarded; though it should seem that the last would be of greater utility in this discussion than the first of these particulars. For, a language may have been spread through so many nations at a very remote period, and is subject to such perpetual variations, and it is so difficult to trace these variations before the discovery of letters, that there is no possibility of pointing out by any unequivocal peculiarities of

language, the particular nation from which any particular tribe may have descended. But the mechanic arts discovered by any particular nation, especially before commerce was generally practised, were in a great measure confined to the original discoverers themselves, or their immediate descendents; and therefore they serve more effectually to distinguish the countries that were occupied by particular tribes of people. It is with this view that I suggest the following remarks on some of the remains of antiquity that are still discoverable in Scotland.

ALL the antiquities that I have yet heard of in this country may be referred to one or other of the following general classes, (not to mention Roman camps, or other works of later date) of each of which I shall speak a little, according to the order in which they occur.

I. MOUNDS of earth thrown up into a sort of hemispherical form, usually distinguished by the name of *mote* or *moat*.

II. LARGE heaps of stones piled upon one another, called *cairns*.

III. LARGE detached stones fixed in the earth in an erect position.

IV. LARGE stones fixed likewise in an erect position in a circular form.

V. CIRCULAR buildings erected of stone without any cementing matter, usually distinguished by the adjunct epithet *dun*; and

VI. WALLS cemented by a vitrified matter, usually found on the top of high mountains.

I. THE artificial mounds of earth, reducible to the first class, are sometimes found in the South of Scotland, and I suppose in England also. Perhaps they may be likewise found in the North of Scotland, although I have never heard of any of them there. From the name (*mote*) and other circumstances, it would seem that

that these had been erected by our ancestors as theatres of justice; as all courts were held in the open air by the Saxons; and probably the same custom might prevail among other tribes of the same people. Such of these mounds as have been demolished, were found to consist entirely of earth, without having had any thing seemingly placed by design within them. There are usually some stones placed on end round the base of these artificial mounts.

II. *THE Cairns* are evidently sepulchral monuments. And as these could be reared in haste by a multitude of people, this artless method of perpetuating the memory of chiefs slain in battle seems to have been universally adopted by all the different tribes of the uncivilized Northern nations.

WHAT induces me to believe that this practice has been confined to no particular nation, is, that these *cairns* are to be met with in every corner of the country, and upon being opened are found to contain chests or coffins of various construction. In most cases these coffins are of a size and shape fitted to contain the human body at full length. Sometimes they are formed of one stone hollowed out for that purpose; although they are more usually composed of separate flat stones fitted to one another. In some of these *tumuli* there is found, in place of the coffin, a kind of square chest, formed likewise of flat stones, which seems to have contained only some particular parts of the human body; and in others, especially in the internal parts of the Northern highlands and Western isles, there is found, within a stone chest, an earthen vase, containing some ashes. From this, and other circumstances, there seems to be no reason to doubt that the practice of burning the dead did once prevail among some of these Northern nations. For, it deserves to be particularly remarked, that few or none of these urns are found so far to the

Southward as the Grampian mountains; which was the boundary of the Roman conquests in Scotland.

THERE may be many other particulars relating to the internal structure of these *cairns* that have not come to my knowledge; the attending to which might afford matter for curious speculation to the antiquary. It deserves only to be farther remarked here, with regard to this species of antiquities, that as they seem to have been for the most part erected by the army in honour of some chieftain slain in battle, upon the very spot on which he was killed; and as each nation would retain its own funeral ceremonies, even when in the heart of an enemy's country, it may naturally be expected that one of these cairns, on being opened, may be extremely different in its internal arrangement from another in its neighbourhood, although alike in their external figure. One of them may contain the remains of a Norse, or a Danish hero, interred according to the rites of their respective countries, while another contains the remains of a British chief, buried after the manner practised in his own native district. By attending to these particulars, facts in history that are now obscure, might on some occasions be ascertained with a greater degree of certainty.

In later times, atrocious murderers were usually covered with a heap of stones by the way-side, which were also called *cairns*. But these are so small, in comparison of the former, as never to be in danger of being confounded with them.

OSSIAN frequently mentions the "four grey stones" as the mark of burial places in his time. It is somewhat surprizing that no travellers have remarked any monuments of this kind in the Highlands at present. But the natives have little curiosity, and pass by things that they have been accustomed to see from their infancy as matters of no moment. When I was in the
Highlands

Highlands two years ago, I saw something a little way from the road side that attracted my attention. On going up to it I found several graves, bounded each by four flat stones, set on edge, like those described by Ossian. Two long stones were placed on each side, about three feet distant from each other, the two at each end narrower, and distant from one another a little more than six feet. The whole was rude and inartificial. It was in the county of Caithness, where long flat stones are very common. I was, you may believe, extremely desirous of learning if there was any tradition in the country relating to this; but, although it was within half a mile of a gentleman's house, and not above thirty yards from the highway, I found, upon enquiry, that the gentleman had never observed it himself, nor had heard any thing about it till I told him of it.

III. THE long stones set on end in the earth are, with still greater certainty, known to be monuments erected to perpetuate the memory of some signal event in war. These are probably of later date than the cairns; for there is hardly one of them whose traditional history is not preserved by the country people in the neighbourhood: nor is it difficult on many occasions to reconcile these traditional narratives with the records of history. On some of these stones is found a rude kind of sculpture; as on the long stone near Forreth in the shire of Murray, and on that at Aberlemno in the shire of Angus; but in general the stones are entirely rude and unfashioned, just as they have been found in the earth.

It is probable that this kind of monument has been first introduced into Britain by the Danes; as almost all the traditional stories relate to some transaction with the Danes, or other memorable event since the period when that Northern people infested this country; and I have never heard of any of them in

the

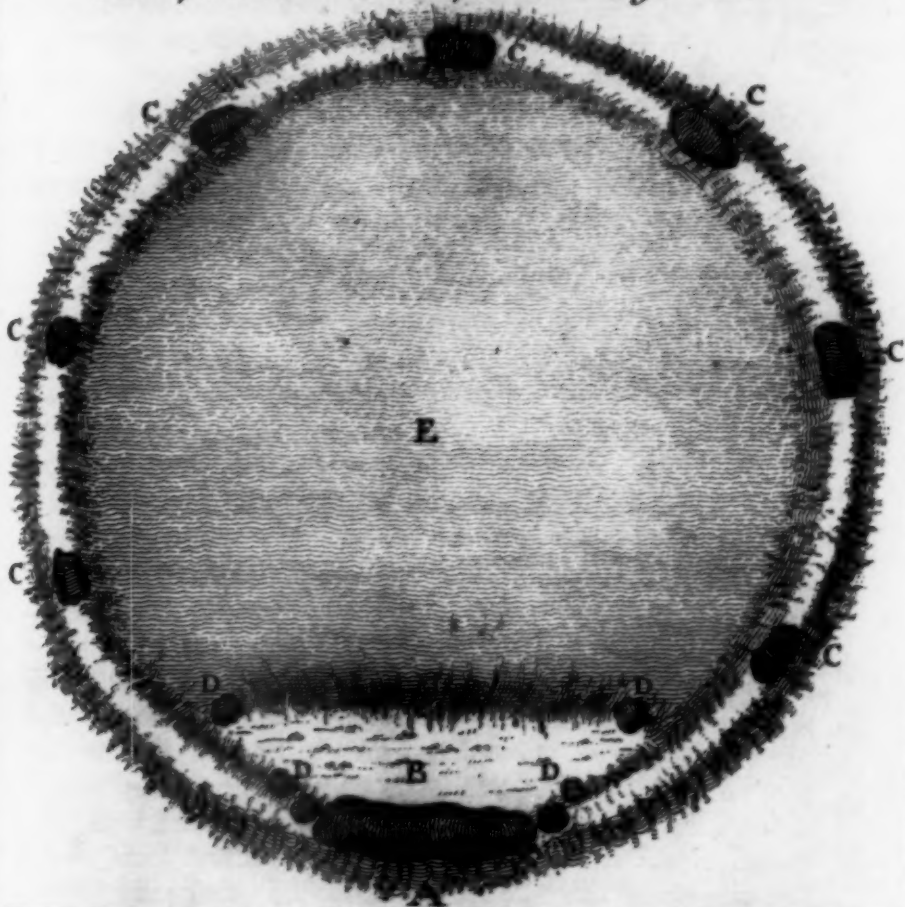
the internal parts of the Highlands, though they are numerous along the coasts every where. It is certain, however, that the Britons adopted this method of perpetuating the memory of remarkable events, as appears by Piercy's cross in Northumberland, which is a modern monument belonging to this class.

IV. THE stones placed in a circular form, as being less known than the former, and confined to a narrower district, deserve to be more particularly described.

THREE, from their situation and form, have been evidently places destined for some particular kind of religious worship. They are for the most part placed upon an eminence, usually on that side of it which declines towards the South, and seem to have been all formed after one plan with little variation. I have examined, perhaps, some hundreds of them in different places, and find, that by restoring the parts that have been demolished, they would all coincide very exactly with the plan annexed to this, which was drawn from one that is still very entire in this neighbourhood, at a place called *Hill of Fiddes*, which I believe you once saw.

THIS particular temple, 46 feet in diameter, consists of nine long stones marked C in the plan*, placed on end in a circular form, at distances nearly equal, though not exactly so. The area E within this circle is smooth, and somewhat lower than the ground around it. By this means, and by a small bank carried quite round between the stones, which is still a little higher than the ground about it, the circular area has been very distinctly defined. Between two stones that are nearest the meridian line, on the South side of the area, is laid on its side, a long stone A, at each end of which are placed two other stones smaller than any of those that form the outer circle. These are a little within the circle, and at a somewhat greater distance from

Plan of a Druidical Temple on Fiddes's Hill.



one another; and still farther, within the circular line, are placed two other stones. These four stones are marked D D D D in the plan. Behind the large stone the earth is raised something more than a foot higher than the rest of the circular area; the form of which is distinctly marked in the plan at B. It is probable that on this stage the priest officiated at the religious ceremonies, the large stone supplying the place of an altar.

THERE is not the smallest mark of a tool on any of these stones; but they are sometimes found of surprisingly large dimensions, the horizontal one on the South side especially, which seems to have been always chosen of the largest size that could be found. They are seldom less than six or eight feet in length, usually between ten and twelve; and I met with one that was near sixteen feet in length, and not less than eight feet in diameter in any of its dimensions. It appears to us amazing how in these rude times stones of such a size could have been moved at all; and yet they are so regularly placed in the proper part of the circle, and so much detached from other stones, as leaves not a possibility of doubting that they have been placed there by design.

It does not seem, however, that they have been confined to any particular size or shape of any of the stones in these structures, for they are quite irregular in these respects; only they seem always to have preferred the largest stones they could find to such as were smaller. Neither does there seem to have been any particular number of stones preferred to any other; it seems to have been enough that the circle should be distinctly marked out. In the shire of Nairn, where flat thin stones much abound, I saw some structures of this kind where the stones almost touched one another all round. It appears also by the plan annexed, that exact regularity in the distance between the different stones was not much regarded.

I HAVE

I HAVE never seen or heard of any temples of this kind in Scotland to the South of the Grampian mountains, nor to the North of Inverness. They abound in Aberdeenshire, and along the Grampian mountains themselves.

STONEHENGE in Wiltshire, is without doubt a monument referable to this general class, although differing from the above in many particulars.

THERE are some vestiges of these four kinds of antiquities in South Britain; but it is doubtful if there are any of a similar nature with those of the other two classes that remain to be taken notice of. I shall, therefore, be a little more particular with regard to them.

V. THE first of these in order are the circular buildings, consisting of walls composed of stones firmly bedded upon one another without any cement; some of which have been so firmly built as to be able to withstand the ravages of time for many centuries.

I HAVE seen many of these more or less entire, and have heard of others that are still more perfect than any of those that I have seen. By the description I have got of these, the structure, when entire, seems very much to have resembled one of our modern glass-houses; the walls having been gradually contracted to a narrow compass at top, which was left open.

THIS account of the upper part of these buildings I give merely from hear-say, as the walls of the most entire one that I have seen did not, as I imagine, exceed twenty feet in height, and was at top very little narrower than at the base. This was at a place called *Dun Agglefag* in Ross-shire, about ten miles West from Tain, on the South bank of the firth of Dornoch, which was, in summer 1775, in the following condition.

THE walls appeared to be perfectly circular. The internal diameter, (as nearly as I can recollect, having lost my notes of this

this tour) was about fifty feet. The walls were about twelve feet in thickness, and the entry into it was at one place by a door about four feet wide: the height I could not exactly measure, as the passage as well as the inside of the building was choaked up in some measure with rubbish, so that we could not see the floor. The coins of the door consisted of large stones carefully chosen, so as exactly to fit the place where they were to be put; but neither here, nor in any other part of the building, could I discover the smallest mark of a hammer or any other tool. The aperture for the door was covered at top with a very large stone in the form of an equilateral triangle, each side being about six feet in length, which was exactly placed over the middle of the opening. This stone was about four feet in thickness. We must here be again surprized to think in what manner a stone of these dimensions could be raised to such a height by a rude people, seemingly ignorant of the powers of mechanism, and carefully placed above loose stones, so as to bind and connect them firmly together, instead of bringing down the wall, as would have inevitably happened without much care and skill in the workmen. Nor could I help admiring the judgement displayed in making choice of a stone of this form for the purpose here intended; as this is perhaps at the same time more beautiful to look on, and possesses more strength for the same bulk and weight than any other form that could have been made choice of.

THE outside of the wall was quite smooth and compact, without any appearance of windows or other apertures of any kind. The inside too was pretty uniform, only here and there we could perceive square holes in the wall, of no great depth, somewhat like pigeon-holes, at irregular heights.

I HAVE been informed that there is in many of these buildings a circular passage about four feet wide, formed in the centre

of the wall that goes quite round the whole, on a level with the floor. I looked for it, but found no such thing in this place. At one place, however, we discovered a door entering from within, and leading to a kind of stair-case that was carried up in the centre of the wall, and formed a communication between the top and bottom of the building, ascending upwards round it in a spiral form. The steps of this stair, like all the other stones here employed, discovered no marks of a tool, but seemed to have been chosen with great care of a proper form for this purpose. At a convenient height over head, the stair-case was roofed with long flat stones going quite across the opening, and this roof was carried up in a direction parallel with the stair itself, so as to be in all places of an equal height. It was likewise observable, that the stair was formed into flights of steps; at the top of each of which there was a landing-place, with an horizontal floor about six feet in length; at the end of which another flight of steps began. One of these flights of steps was quite compleat, with a landing-place at each end of it, and two others were found in an imperfect state; the lowermost being in part filled up with rubbish, and the highest reached the top of the wall that is now remaining before it ended. Whether these flights were regularly continued to the top, and whether they contained an equal number of steps or not, it was impossible for me to discover; but these remains show that the structure has been erected by a people not altogether uncivilized.

ABOUT twenty years ago, a gentleman in that neighbourhood, who is laird of the spot of ground on which this beautiful remnant of ancient grandeur is placed, pulled down eight or ten feet from the top of these walls, for the sake of the stones, to build a habitation for its incurious owner. It may perhaps be a doubt with some whether the builders or the demolishers of these

these walls most justly deserve the name of a savage and uncivilized people?

By whatever people this has been erected, it must have been a work of great labour, as the collecting the materials alone, where no carriages could pass, must have been extremely difficult to accomplish. It must, therefore, have been in all probability a public national work, allotted for some very important purpose. But what use these buildings were appropriated to it is difficult now to say with certainty.

MOST persons whom I have conversed with on this subject seem to think, that they have been intended as places of defence; which conjecture seems to gain some probability from the name; as it is said, by those who understand the *Erse* language, that *dun* signifies a place of strength, or a rock. But there are many reasons that satisfy me that this could not have been their original use. For, not to mention any other reason, these buildings are, all of them that I have seen, save that at Dun-robin alone, placed in a valley; and many of them are commanded by adjoining heights, from whence stones might have been thrown through the aperture at top with ease. Neither is there in any of them that I have seen, the least appearance of a well within the walls; from which circumstance alone we may be satisfied that they must have been appropriated to some other use than that of defence.

It appears to me, that they have been places of religious worship, which is also confirmed by the name these places still bear among the vulgar. For although every place where one of these is found has the syllable *dun* added to the original name of the place; as Dun-robin, Dun-beath, &c. yet the particular building itself is always called the *Druids house*, as the *Druids house of Dunbeath*, &c.

OSSIAN mentions the horrid circle of Brumo as a place of worship among the ancient Scandinavians, unknown in his own country in those times. Possibly he may here allude to structures of this sort, which may have been introduced into this country along with the religious worship peculiar to the Scandinavians, during the period that the Western isles and Northern provinces of Scotland were under the dominion of Norway. This conjecture gains an additional degree of probability when we observe, that although thousands of ruins of this species of buildings are found in the shire of Caithness, and in the Western and Northern islands, yet not one of them has hitherto been heard of in Scotland to the Southerward of Inverness. That at Dun-agglefag is the Southermost on the East coast, and another at Glenelg, opposite to the Isle of Sky, the Southermost that has hitherto been observed on the West coast. But it is well known that the county of Caithness was so long under the dominion of Norway, that the inhabitants of that country still use a language, the greatest part of whose words are immediately derived from Norwegian roots, and many of the customs of Norway still prevail there as well as in the Northern isles, which were annexed to the crown of Scotland not many centuries ago.

If this conjecture is well founded, similar buildings to these will certainly still be discoverable in Norway or Denmark, and this is no improper subject of enquiry.

You will probably recollect the building called Arthur's Oven, which stood upon the banks of the Carron near Stirling, and was demolished not long ago. A drawing of it is preserved in Sibbald's "*Scotia illustrata*"; from which it appears that in its general form, and several other particulars, it much resembled the buildings of this class; and if it should be admitted as one of them, it would be an exception to the foregoing rule, and

tend to invalidate the reasoning I have employed. But although in some particulars it did resemble these buildings, in other respects it was extremely different. Its size is the first observable particular in which it differed from them, as there is hardly one of them which has not been many times larger than it was. These buildings are always composed of rough stones, without any mark of a tool. It consisted entirely of hewn stones squared and shaped by tools, so as exactly to fit the place where they were to be inserted. The walls of Arthur's Oven were thin without any appearance of a stair within them. In short, it bore evident marks of Roman art and Roman architecture, and resembled Virgil's tomb near Naples more than it did the structures we now treat of; on which accounts it has always been, with seeming justice, supposed a small temple, erected by the Romans when they occupied that station, and very different from the ruder but more magnificent temples of these Northern nations.

THE temple (for so I will venture to call it) at *Dun-agglefag* has no additional buildings of any kind adjoining to it, although I had occasion to observe, from many others, that it has been no uncommon thing to have several low buildings of the same kind, joining to the base of the larger one, and communicating with it from within, like cells. The most entire of this kind that I have seen is at Dun-robin, the seat of the Earl of Sutherland. The late Earl was at great pains to clear away the rubbish from this building, and secure it as much as possible from being farther demolished. Unfortunately it is composed of much worse materials than that I have described.

THE only particular relating to the situation of this kind of building that occurred to me as observable, was, that they were all situated very near where water could be obtained in abundance. The side of a lake or river is therefore a common position;

sition; and where another situation is chosen, it is always observable, that water in considerable quantities from a rivulet, or otherwise, can be obtained near. It seems, however, to have been a matter of indifference, whether that water was salt or fresh, stagnant or running; from whence it would seem probable, that water, in considerable quantities, must have been necessary for performing some of the rites celebrated there.

IN Caithness, as I have already hinted, the ruins of this kind of buildings are exceedingly numerous; but many of them are now such a perfect heap of rubbish, that they have much the same appearance with the *cairns* already mentioned, and might readily be confounded with them by a superficial observer. The names in this case will be of some use to prevent mistakes, as every building of this kind seems to have been distinguished by the syllable *dun* prefixed to the word; so that whenever this is found to be the case, there is reason to suspect at least that it is not a cairn.

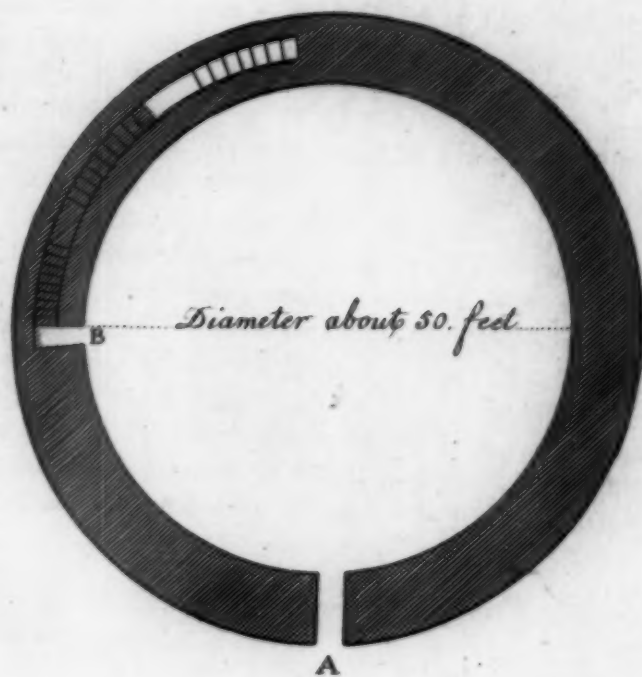
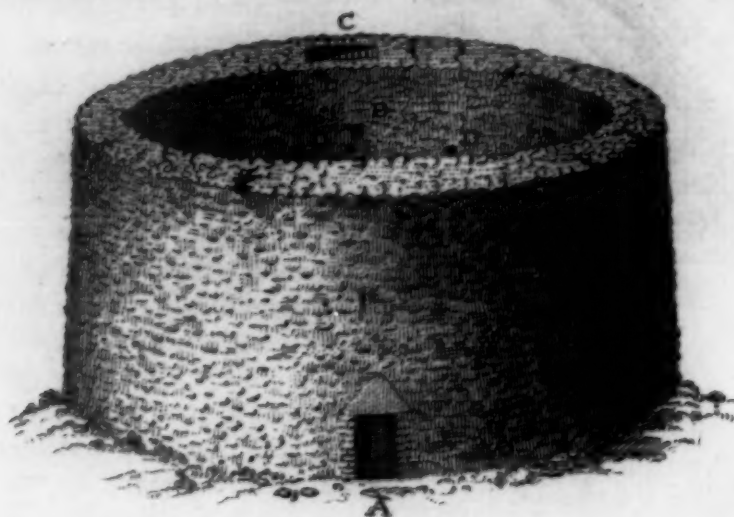
Dr. Johnson, in his late tour to the Hebrides, was carried to see one of these buildings in the Isle of Sky, which he seems to have surveyed rather in a hasty manner. He conjectures, that these structures have been erected by the inhabitants as places of security for their cattle, in case of a sudden inroad from their neighbours. A thousand circumstances, had he bestowed much attention upon the subject, might have pointed out to him the improbability of this conjecture. We shall soon see that the inhabitants knew much better in what manner to secure themselves or cattle from danger than they would have been here.

I HAVE annexed a plan and elevation of the building of *Dun-agglefag**, by the help of which you will be able to form an idea of other buildings of this kind. A represents the entry. B the

* Plate XXII.

4

entry



Dun Agglesag

entry to the stair-case. C, the stair-case seen from above. D, holes like pigeon-holes in the wall. This and the foregoing sketches are drawn from memory, and the elevation is too high in proportion to its other dimensions.

VI. THE most remarkable of all the Scottish antiquities are the vitrified walls, which I come now to mention.

It is not yet three years since I got the first hint of this species of building, from a gentleman who had examined them with attention; and who was, I believe, the first person who took notice of them in Scotland. This was Mr. John Williams, who was for several years employed by the honourable board of trustees for managing the forfeited estates in Scotland, as a mineral surveyor on these estates*. Since that time I have seen and examined them myself, and have made the following observations upon them.

THESE walls consist of stones piled rudely upon one another, and firmly cemented together by a matter that has been vitrified by means of fire, which forms a kind of artificial rock, (if you will admit this phrase,) that resists the vicissitudes of the weather perhaps better than any other artificial cement that has ever yet been discovered.

ALL the walls of this kind that I have yet seen or heard of, have been evidently erected as places of defence. They, for the most part, surround a small area on the top of some steep conical hill of very difficult access. It often happens that there is easier access to the top of one of these hills at one place than at any other; and there they have always had the entry into the fort, which has always been defended by outworks more or less strong according to the degree of declivity at that place. If the form of the hill admitted of access only at one place, there are out-

* See his account of them in a series of Letters to G. C. M. esq. just published in 8vo. with a plate.

works only at one place; but if there are more places of easy access, the outworks are opposed to each of them, and they are proportioned in extent to the nature of the ground.

THE first fortification of this kind that I saw was upon the top of a steep hill called *Knock-ferrel*, two miles West from Dingwal in Rosshire. And as an idea of all the others may be formed from this one, I shall here subjoin a particular description of it.

THE hill is of a longish form, rising into a ridge at top, long in proportion to its breadth. It is of great height and extremely steep on both sides; so that when it is viewed at a distance from either end, it appears of a conical shape, very perfect and beautiful to look at; but, when viewed from one side, one of the ends is seen to be much steeper than the other.

THE narrow declivity of the hill is of easy access, and forms a natural road by which you may ascend to the top on horseback; and at this end has been the entry into the fort A*. This fort consists, as I guessed by my eye, of a long elliptical area of near an acre, which is entirely level, excepting towards each end, where it falls a little lower than in the middle. The fortification of vitrified wall, C C C C, is continued quite round this area; being adapted to the form of the hill, so as to stand on the brink of a precipice all round, unless it be at the place where you enter, and at the opposite end, B; both which places have been defended by outworks. Those at the entry had extended, as I guessed, about a hundred yards, and seem to have consisted of cross walls one behind another, eight or ten in number; the ruins of which are still plainly perceptible. Through each of these walls there must have been a gate, so that the besiegers would be under the necessity of forcing each of these

* See the plan Pl. XXIII. fig. 1.

Knockferrel.

Fig. 1

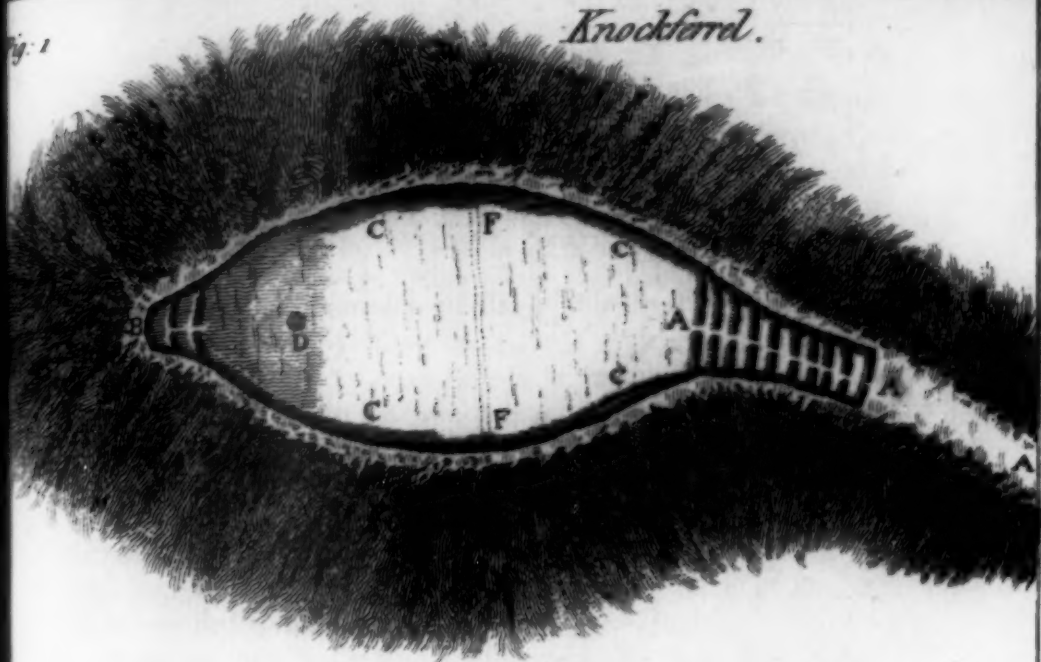
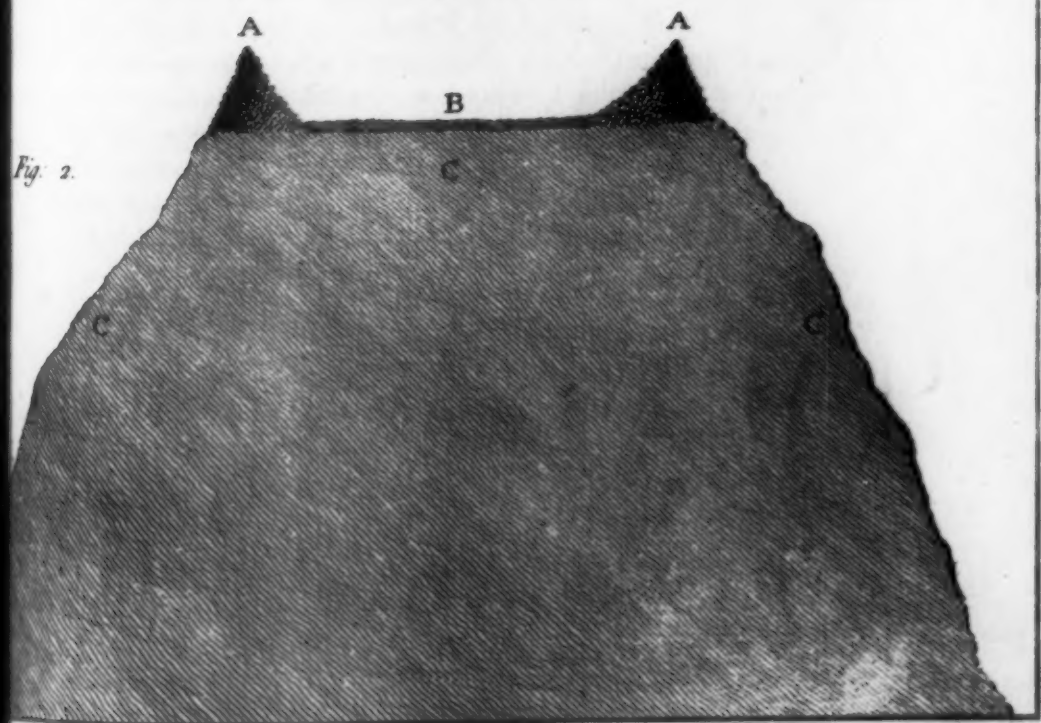


Fig. 2.



gates successively before they could carry the fort; on the opposite end of the hill, as the ground is considerably steeper, the outworks seem not to have extended above twenty yards, and consist only of two or three cross walls. Not far from the further end was a well marked D, now filled up, but still discoverable.

To assist you in forming an idea of this structure, I subjoin a plan of the hill with its fortification, as if it were compleat. This is drawn entirely from memory, and is not pretended to be exact in proportions; but it has the general form, and is sufficiently exact for our purpose here.

THE wall all round from the inside, appears to be only a mound of rubbish, consisting of loose stones now buried among some earth, and grass that has been gradually accumulated by the dunging of sheep, which resort to it as a place of shelter. The vitrified wall is only to be seen on the outside.

NOR are these walls readily distinguishable at a distance, because they are not raised in a perpendicular direction, but have been carried sloping inwards at top, nearly with the same degree of inclination as the sides of the hill; so that they seem, when viewed at a small distance, to be only a part of the hill itself.

IT appears at first sight surprizing that a rude people should have been capable of discovering a cement of such a singular kind as this is. It is less surprizing that the knowledge of it should not have been carried into other countries, as distant nations in those periods had but little friendly intercourse with one another. But it is no difficult matter for one who is acquainted with the nature of the country where these structures abound to give a very probable account of the manner in which this art has been originally discovered, and of the causes that have occasioned the knowledge of it to be lost, even in the countries where it was once universally practised.

THROUGH all the Northern parts of Scotland, a particular kind of earthy iron ore of a very vitrescible nature much abounds. This ore might have been accidentally mixed with some stones at a place where a great fire was kindled; and being fused by the heat would cement the stones into one solid mass, and give the first hint of the uses to which it might be applied. A few experiments would satisfy them of the possibility of executing at large what had been accidentally discovered in miniature.

THIS knowledge being thus attained, nothing seems to be more simple and natural than its application to the formation of the walls of their fortified places.

HAVING made choice of a proper place for their fort, they would rear a wall all round the area, building the outside of it as firm as they could of dry stones piled one above another, the interstices between them being filled full of this vitrescible iron ore; and the whole supported by a backing of loose stones piled carelessly behind it [a].

WHEN the wall was thus far compleated, with its facing all round reared to the height they wished for, nothing more was necessary to give it the entire finishing but to kindle a fire all round it sufficiently intense to melt the vitrescible ore, and thus to cement the whole into one coherent mass, as far as the influence of that heat extended. As the country then abounded with wood, this purpose would be readily effected by building a stack of wood round the whole outside of the wall, and then setting it on fire. It was probably with a view to enable them to build this stack of wood with the greater ease, and to suffer

[a] What Dr. Borlase calls *Hill Castles* in Cornwall, and describes as fortified by single and sometimes double walls of stones, "which now lie like a ridge of disorderly stones," seem to be of the same kind, though he says nothing of vitrification. *Antiq. B. iv. c. 7. p. 343. 2d ed.* R. G.

the fire to act more forcibly and equally upon the different parts of the wall as it gradually consumed, that they were induced to incline the walls so far from a perpendicular position. In an after period, when the woods had gradually been destroyed, and before it was well known how to manufacture peat for fuel, it would be such a difficult matter to procure fuel in abundance, that buildings of this kind would come to be disused, and the art in a short period, among a people ignorant of letters, be entirely forgotten.

You will perhaps imagine that the above account of the manner in which these walls have been formed, is only an ingenious conjecture, entirely destitute of proof. But that they have indeed been formed in this manner, can, I think, be demonstrated in as clear a manner as the nature of the subject will admit.

THE ingenious Mr. Williams, already mentioned, by the permission of the board of trustees, caused a section to be made across the top of the hill of Knockferrel, which was carried quite through the walls on each side, in the line marked F F, plate XXIII. fig. 1. so that any person has now an opportunity of observing the nature of these walls, and may judge of the manner in which they have been constructed.

IT appears by this section, here engraved in plate XXIII. fig. 2. that the wall all round is covered on the outside with a crust of about two feet in thickness, consisting of stones immersed among vitrified matter; some of the stones being half fused themselves where the heat has been greatest, and all of them having evidently suffered a considerable heat. This crust is of an equal thickness of about two feet from top to bottom, so as to lie back upon and be supported by the loose stones behind it.

WITHIN that crust of vitrified matter is another stratum of some thickness running from top to bottom, exactly parallel to

the former, which consists of loose stones that have been scorched by the fire, but discover no marks of fusion. The stones that are nearest the vitrified part of the wall being most scorched, and those behind becoming gradually less and less so, till at length they seem not to have been affected by the heat in the smallest degree. I have endeavoured to represent this in the drawing by the gradual decrease in the shading.

It deserves to be remarked, that these different crusts or strata, as I have named them, for want of a more appropriated term, do not consist of separate walls disjoined from one another, but are parts of one aggregate mass; as it frequently happens that one stone has one end of it immersed among the vitrified matter in the wall, and the other end of it only scorched by heat; and in the same manner it often happens, that one end of a stone is scorched by heat while the other end appears never to have suffered in the smallest degree from the action of the fire. This affords the clearest proof that the heat has been applied to them after they have been placed in the wall.

In carrying the section across the level area in the middle of the fortification, there was found a stratum of black vegetable mold B, lying above the solid rock C C C. This mold has probably been formed in the course of ages by the dunging of sheep which resort often to this place for shelter.

Nothing seems to be more judicious or simple than this mode of fortification adopted by our forefathers. The stones for forming the walls were probably dug from the top of the rock that formed the ridge of the hill, and therefore served at once to level the area of the fort, and to erect the massy walls without any expence of carriage. The walls too, although rude in form, and inelegant in appearance, were extremely well adapted for the only mode of defence that their situation rendered

dered necessary. For as they were always placed upon the brink of a precipice, no weapon could have been so destructive to an assailant as a stone rolled down the hill: but as the inside of the wall consisted in every part of it of an immense heap of loose stones, the defendants could never be at a loss for weapons wherever the attack was made.

I HAVE been told, that on some of the hills which have been fortified in this manner, there is another circumvallation drawn round the hill nearer the base, which has been defended by a wall of dry stones only. But as I never saw any of these myself I cannot describe them particularly. It is probable these were intended as places of security for cattle, in case of any sudden inroad from an enemy of no great force. If so they will naturally be placed on the extremity of some swelling part of the hill so as to include an area of as little declivity as possible immediately behind them.

MANY hills are fortified in this manner through all the northern parts of Scotland. I have heard of none of this kind that have as yet been discovered farther South than the shire of Angus; but it is possible that others of the same kind may be yet discovered that have not hitherto been taken notice of. I think Governor Pownall mentions some in a memoir lately given in by him to the Antiquary Society. I have not the memoir here and therefore cannot consult it; but a little attention will soon discover if it is of the same kind with that which is here described [δ].

I AM much disposed to believe that this has been entirely a British invention, and think it probable that the art was never carried out of this country. That it was not known by the Danes at least seems extremely probable, from a curious

[δ] See the Governor's Account of Penman Mawr. *Archæol.* vol. III. 303.
fact

fact that I shall now take notice of; and if it was not known by the Danes, it seems probable, that it would not be known by the other Northern nations on the continent. The fact I allude to is as follows:

It is well known that the Danes made frequent inroads into Scotland, for several centuries, with various degrees of success. During that period they seized upon a peninsulated rock in the Murray Firth, about four miles from Elgin, which is now called *Brough head*. As this was a place naturally strong, and formed besides a kind of harbour, by means of which supplies could be brought to it by sea, they thought it a very convenient station to be occupied as a place of arms, and accordingly fortified it for that purpose. Three large and deep parallel ditches were drawn across the neck of the Isthmus that joined it to the land; and within the innermost of these a large wall has been erected, which has been continued quite round the peninsula, as the ruins of it at this day clearly show.

THE circumstance that made me here take notice of this Danish fortification is, that all the stones on the outside of the wall appear to have been scorched in the fire, insomuch that they appear almost as red as bricks on that side, although the stone is naturally of a very white kind, and some of them are almost burnt to a powder. Between these stones, on digging among the ruins of the wall is found a good deal of reddish dust, exactly resembling dry clay that has been burnt to ashes. But in no part of this fortification is there the smallest appearance of vitrified matter, and the stones in the inside are every where of their natural colour.

FROM these circumstances it appears to me extremely probable, that the Danes, from having seen in their incursions some of the vitrified fortifications, have admired the invention

and

and wished to imitate them. We may suppose they might have been able to learn in general that they consisted of walls of stone intermixed with dry clay in powder, which was afterwards converted into a vitrified mass by surrounding the whole with a stack of wood or other combustibles, and then setting it on fire. But having been ignorant of the necessity of employing only that particular substance already described, which, from its general appearance, might be on some occasions mistaken for a kind of clay, they have probably taken some ordinary clay and employed that in its stead. But as ordinary clay is hardly at all vitrescible, they have not been able to succeed in their attempt, but instead of that, the stones, by the great heat applied to them, have been scorched in the manner they now appear, and the clay between them has been burnt to ashes. This so perfectly accounts for the peculiarity observable in the ruined walls of this fortification, and it is so difficult to assign any other reason for the singular appearance of them, that I could not avoid throwing out this probable conjecture to direct towards other researches.

ALTHOUGH it is only of late that the real nature of these vitrified walls has been known, it is long since the vitrified matter has been observed; but it was always supposed that these were the natural production of volcanos; from whence it was inferred that volcanos had been very common in Scotland at some very distant period. But if no better proof can be adduced in support of this last hypothesis it will hardly be admitted.

FROM the foregoing account it appears, that these works are purely artificial. At the same time it must be owned, that the natural appearance of the places where these vitrified masses are usually found, is well calculated to favour the opinion that they have been produced by volcanos.

THE

THE vitrified matter is usually first discovered by travellers around the bottom, and on the sides of steep hills, frequently of a conical shape, terminating in a narrow *apex*, exactly resembling the hills that have been formed by the eruptions of a volcano. It is therefore very natural to think that these may have been produced in the same way.

LET us suppose that a traveller, strongly impressed with this idea, should resolve to examine the top of the mountain more nearly, and for this purpose ascends to the summit; would not his former conjecture be much confirmed when at the top he should find himself in a circular hollow, surrounded on all sides by matter rising gradually higher to the very edge of the precipice, which is there entirely environed with vitrified matter of the same kind with that he had found at the bottom? Could such a man be called unreasonably credulous if he should be induced by so many concurring circumstances to believe that this had been a real volcano? But would he not be reckoned sceptical in extreme if he should entertain the smallest doubt of the truth of this opinion if he should likewise see the very opening itself in the centre of the hollow, through which the boiling *lava* had been spewed out? Yet strong as all these appearances are, we know that they may, and actually do all concur on many occasions to favour the deceit. The formation of the hollow basin has been already explained; and the well, with which every one of these forts has been provided, and which is still discoverable in all of them, though for the most part now filled up with stones to prevent accident, might very readily be mistaken for the mouth of the volcano.

IN these circumstances a casual visitor might be excused if he should believe in such strong appearances without enquiring minutely into the matter. But a philosophical enquirer who
resolved

resolved coolly to investigate the matter, would soon find reason to doubt that he might be mistaken. The vitrified masses themselves are of a nature extremely different from real *lava*; so different indeed, that nothing but the difficulty of accounting for the way in which they could be otherwise produced would ever have occasioned them to be confounded with one another. In real *lava*, the heat has been so intense as to fuse almost all matters, and reduce them into one heterogeneous mass; but in the matter, of which we now treat, the heat has been so slight as to vitrify scarce any of the stones, but barely to fuse the vitrescible matter that was interposed between them; which alone points out a very essential difference between the nature of the two. But if he should proceed farther in this investigation, he would also discover, on digging into the hill in any part, that no *lava*, or any other matters that show marks of having been in the fire, are to be found; but that they consist of rock or other strata of mineral matter similar to what is found in other parts of the country. Neither has there ever been found in Scotland any appearance of pumice stones, nor large beds of ashes like those which are always found in the neighbourhood of volcanos. There is not (for the most part) even any appearance of *basaltes* in the neighbourhood of these fortified hills; a substance which is now thought to be invariably generated by volcanos alone, although it does not seem that the proofs upon which this opinion is founded are so conclusive as to leave no room to doubt of the fact. Unfortunately too for Scotland, the parallel fails in another respect; for, instead of the extraordinary fertility of soil that for the most part is found near volcanos, we here find that sterility which is invariably produced by the vitrescible iron ore above alluded to wherever it abounds.

If this account of the *artificial* curiosities, found in the Highlands of Scotland, should afford you any entertainment, I may,

perhaps, on some future occasion, make a few observations on the *natural* curiosities of these unknown regions, which are more numerous and more generally interesting to philosophic enquirers than the former. I know no way in which a philosopher, who wants to view nature undisguised, and to trace her gradual progress for successive ages, could do it with half so much satisfaction as in the Highlands of Scotland. Half a day's ride there would do more to give such an enquirer a proper idea of the changes produced on this globe, and the means by which they are effected than twenty years study in the closet could produce; as any one who shall attentively view these, after reading the writings of Buffon, will readily allow.

I am, with sincere esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

JAMES ANDERSON.

Monk/bill, 28th April 1777.

XXVI. *Remarks on the Word Romance. By the Rev.
Mr. Bowle, F. S. A. In a Letter to the Secretary.*

Read January 8, 1778.

S I R,

I Beg leave, through your means, to convey to the Society my sentiments respecting the word *Romance*; a subject which has already employed the pen of the ingenious Mr. Drake, and others. I hope for this gentleman's particular indulgence, if I differ entirely from him, and join in opinion with Dr. Percy, and the learned Warton, in their sense of the word.

THAT the old French was originally called *Roman* is beyond a doubt, as appears from Pasquier in his *Recherches de la France*: more particularly, l. VIII. c. 8. “& comme ainsi soit que le “*Roman* fut le language courtesan de France, tous ceux qui “s’amusoient d’escrire les faicts heroiques de nos Chevaliers, pre- “mierement en vers, puis en prose, appellerent leurs ouvres Ro- “mans.” He advances nearly the same thing in the fifth chapter of the preceding book.

CRESCIMBENI [a] reciting the several opinions respecting the name *Romanzo*, derives it from the word *Roma*, and tells us,

[a] *Historia de Volgar Poesia*, v. 1. l. 5. p. 316.

that it means that vulgar idiom which with colonies of Romans passed into Provence, and elsewhere, and was esteemed, even by the Barbarians who inhabited those kingdoms, and called it *Romano*, and *Romanzo*: and in this they wrote the acts and achievements of knights; which writings were therefore styled *Romanzi*, or Romances. The termination was most probably conformable to the use of the language of the country into which it was introduced, the radical word being one and the same. These two authorities serve to corroborate what the learned Spanish etymologist *Covarruvias* asserts in the *Tesoro* of his language, to this day called *Romance*. And he observes, this name is generical, and belongs alike to the Tuscan, to the French, and to the Spanish; inasmuch as all these three were derived from the purity of the Latin tongue, which the Romans, being conquerors, introduced into these provinces, and which, at first, the nobles spoke, and wrote. He farther informs us, that the Latin tongue being admitted into Spain, was spoke as in Rome, and that there were men well skilled in it, who spoke and wrote it with more refinement than the vulgar: but upon the coming in of the Goths it was notably corrupted: that which before was pure Roman was converted into Romance, which is equivalent to its being derived from the Roman [b].

In confirmation of what is here advanced I have to add, that the name *Romance* was given to the Spanish language, to distinguish it from the Gothick. "El nombre de Romance se le puso a distincion de la Gotica." So speaks the most learned Canonigo *Aldrete*, in his "Origen de la Lengua Castellana," l. II. c. 7. a work replete with various erudition, and copious information for the philologist. What is also remarkable of this word is, that it never conveys that idea we give it, and means

[b] See his *Tesoro*: voces *Romance*, and *Latin*.

the language in general, or a song. In these two senses only it is used in more than twenty places by Cervantes, in his *Don Quixote*, and in both in one page in the 13th chapter of the first part. "En nuestro *Romance Castellano*—y aquel tan sabido "*Romance*, y tan decantado." Nor is any other explanation of the word to be had in the *Diccionario de Madrid*.

THE French then having indisputably extended the idea of the word, and first of all appropriated it to the above-mentioned compositions, from them it is most probably derived. Whether or no they were before the *Libros de Cavallerias*, the general name of the *antient Spanish Romances*, is foreign to the present purpose. Daniello, in his *Comento* upon the 26th Canto of the *Purgatorio* of Dante, corroborates what is here asserted, and is an additional authority, if further proof were wanting, of what Covarruvias has advanced concerning the *Romance*.

ONE branch of the *Romanth*, of which there is an account by Mr. Planta in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. LXVI. p. 129. is, by the inhabitants of the Engadine Grisons, called *Ladin*; and the whole of it is certainly nothing more than a dialect of this general language. I am induced to make this assertion, from observing an almost exact identity in this, with that spoken by the antient inhabitants of the valleys of Piedmont, upon the confines of the Grisons, of which we have copious specimens in Sir Samuel Morland's history of the Evangelical Churches of that country. Both dialects of the *Romanth*, as cited in the oath of Lewis the Germanick, have not a closer affinity to each other, than they have to this, being alike clipt and curtailed, as will appear from what follows:

1. Engadine Romanth, called Ladin.

Per amur da Diu, et per il Christian Poewel, et nos comun salvament.

2. Romanth of both dialects.

Pro

Pro l'amur da Déus, et pro il Christian pobel, et nost comun salvament.

3. Latin.

Pro Dei amore, et pro Christiano populo, et nostro comuni salvamento.

IN Sir Samuel Morland's extracts we read, " Illi eran mort, e destruit sença perdonament. El salvar ton poble. El receoplo " baptism *per donar salvament*." p. 106, 7, 8.

IF it can be made appear that the language of the vallies was quite distinct from, and utterly unconnected with, either in situation, or origin, then might we, did nothing else present itself, admit what Mr. Planta takes for granted, that the *Romanse* has never been used in any regular composition in writing till the sixteenth century, nor affected by any foreign invasion, or intimate connection [c]. But this is really asserting too much. Nor, on a close inspection, does it appear any more to merit the appellation of a *distinct language*, rather than a *dialect*, than does the *Catalan* which has the same parent stock for its origin, though it be engrafted on the Provençal, or Lemosin, as this seems to be on the Italian and German. The information of Fontanini [d] seems decisive in this matter: that the Romance, now spoken in the country of the Grisons, is also the common dialect of the Friulense, and of some districts in Savoy. Before I had reflected on the extent and universality of this term, the resemblance of the language of the vallies to the Spanish was so striking that it induced me to give credit to the account of a Piedmontese, that some Spanish officers at Turin found no difficulty in comprehending what was said in the *Langue du pays*. And indeed this will be very evident from inspecting both.

[c] Phil. Transf. Vol. LXVI. p. 142.

[d] Ib. p. 15.

To begin then with the Romance of the valleys.

Garda vos de li fals prophetas li qual venon a vos en vestimentos deteas [e].

Spanish. Guarda os de los falsos prophetas, que vienen a vosotros con vestidos de ovejas.

V. A quest poble honra mi cum labias, malo cor

Sp. Este pueblo de labios me honra, mas su coraçon

V. es long de mi. ma illi colon mi senza caison, enseiquant

Sp. lexos esde mi. mas en vano me honrran ensennando

V. les doctrinas, & li comandement de li nomes [f].

Sp. doctrinas, mandamientos dettomtres.

It were easy to enlarge the comparison, and to shew a still closer similitude in the Castilian, particularly in its earlier state, as it occurs in the laws *de las particlas*, which were composed in the thirteenth century; but the above hints may suffice. Another observation may have its use also, namely, that both tongues have several words which radically are one and the same, and which have no affinity with the Latin. I cannot better close these reveries than with the just remark of Monsieur de la Curne de S. Palaye, and in his own words: "Les langues Françoise, Italienne, & Espagnole ont entre elles des traits de ressemblance & de conformité si sensibles & si marqués, qu'on ne peut guère etudier l'histoire de l'une, qu'on ne s'instruise en meme temps de l'histoire de ses compagnes; je dirois meme presque de ses soeurs, si je voulois prendre un parti [g]."

JOHN BOWLE.

Idmiston, Nov. 27, 1778.

[e] Mat. vii. 15.

[f] Mat. xv. 8, 9. The Spanish is from *Cypriano de Valera's* Translation.

[g] Memoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions & de Litterature, T. XXIV. p. 672.

XXVII. *An important historical Passage of Gildas amended and explained. By the Rev. Mr. Pegge.*

Read January 15, 1778.

THERE is a passage in Gildas which is become very famous, partly on account of the various reading, but chiefly of the sense and meaning of it; authors disagreeing widely in the interpretation. It is indeed a paragraph of consequence, as it concerns a portion of the British history at a very critical time, and as such may well deserve a minute and particular discussion.

THE Romans, who had twice before come to the assistance of the Britons against the Scots and Picts, were now withdrawn never more to return, and on their retreat these words immediately follow:

“ITAQUE illis ad sua revertentibus, emergunt certatim de
“*curucis*, quibus sunt trans *Tithicam vallem* vecti tetri
“Scotorum Pictorumque greges cognitaque condebi-
“torum reversione, et reditus denegatione, solito confidentius
“omnem aquilonalem, *extremamque* terrae partem pro indigenis
“murotenus capeffunt.” Gildas, cap. 15.

As

As to the reading: for *Titbicum vallem*, Dr. Gale, whose edition I use, conjectures *Theticam*; and in his Annotations on Nennius, who, cap. 36, has a like expression, *Scitbicum vallem*, he repeats the conjecture, and gives this reason for it, "that Gildas often uses poetical words," but at the same time testifies, that the Cotton MS. of Nennius gives *Scythbicum*, which in part he approves [a]. And surely the *Titbicum* of Gildas ought to be amended *Scitbicum* (i. e. *Scythbicum*) from Nennius, as the alteration is so small, rather than *Theticam*, which is more remote from Nennius's reading, and less consistent with the elements thereof.

THE reading thus settled [b], I go upon the interpretation of the expression, *Scythica vallis*. Now, Mr. Camden manages things so in one place, as to understand by it a *tract of land*. These are his words: "The Romans being returned home, there creep in great crowds out of the little narrow holes of their carriages or carts (in which they were brought over the *Scitick* vale, about the middle of summer, in a scorching hot season), a dusky swarm of vermine, a hideous crew of Scots and Picts [c]." By which it is plain, that, besides converting the *Titbica* of Gildas, or the *Scitbica* of Nennius into *Scitick*, which nobody can make any sense of, he chose to read *Carucis* instead of *Curicis*, or *Curucis*, as it is in another copy. And it appears to me, that upon this last, whether inattention or misapprehension, in conjunction with a literal interpretation of the word *vallis*, his notion or idea of an expedition by land was entirely grounded. But now I will venture to say, that *Curicis*,

[a] *Non mali*, says he.

[b] I find it cited *Scythicum* by Archbp. Usher, *Antiq. Brit. Eccles.* p. 318. and see Bp. Lloyd on Church Government in Britain. p. 22.

[c] Camden, col. cxxvii.

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or *Curucis*, ought not to be altered. It is a different word from *caruca*, a cart, and signifies a *corrogb*, or sea-vessel; so Du Fresne, "*curuca*, navis, alias *carrucha*, nostris *carache*." Gildas in Epist. sect. 15. "Itaque illis ad sua revertentibus emergunt certatim de *curucis*, &c." Polydore Vergil's edition has *carruchis*. Josseline's edition *curucis*. Carike [d], Carrac [e], Carak [f], Carek, or Carrick [g], are words well known to our English authors in this sense, and probably were derived from *curica*, or *curuca*, as well as the French *carache*. Speed, p. 190, writes it more correctly *carrogbe*; but the truth I apprehend to be *corrogb*, from the British *corug* [h]. These vessels were light barques of wicker covered with hides. [i].

BESIDES, it is evident that these enemies of the Britons came by sea. Gildas not only calls them *transmarinae gentes*, cap. 2. but says, on occasion of their second invasion, "*alis remorum remigumque brachijs, ac velis vento sinuatis vecti*." cap. 13. and so afterwards he tells us, that the Roman auxiliaries drove the invaders away *over the seas*, "*Ita aemulorum agmina auxiliatores egregij trans maria fugaverunt, quia anniversarias avidae praedas nullo obistente trans maria exaggerabant*." So Claudian, Consul. Honorij III. 55. on a former occasion:

Pictos

— — — — —
Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone secutus
Fregit *hyperboreas* remis audacibus undas.

[d] Hall's Chronicle, fol. 161. b.

[e] Harris's Voyages, p. 4.

[f] Shakesp. Othello I. 5. Cymbeline IV. 5. Hanmer's Gloss. Rapin II.

p. 141.

[g] Littleton's Dict.

[h] Sir James Ware, Ant. of Ireland. II. p. 178. We find in Edw. Lloyd p. 97. *ijgoreg* and *breach*, words of much the same sound. See also Richards' Dict. *Corugl*, and Somn. Gloss. in X Script. v. *Carabus*.

[i] Ware, II. p. 178. Usher, Antiq. Brit. Eccl. p. 318.

I OBSERVE next, that the *Scythica vallis* of Nennius is actually called *mare Scoticum* by Ran. Higden in several places^[k]; and lastly, that even Mr. Camden himself in another place appears to have a truer notion of the matter, as he interprets it of the *Irish sea* ^[l].

EVERY body must admit, I think, upon all this evidence, that *curicis*, or *curucis*, is the true reading in Gildas, and means not *carts*, but *corroghs*; consequently that *vallis* is a poetical expression for the *sea*; and that it is not an unnatural one appears from this consideration, that we are said to *descend*, or *go down*, whenever we resort to the sea at any sea-port town; whence we have it in the Vulgate, which I presume may be that version Gildas used, and perhaps might afford him the idea, *Qui descendunt mare in navibus*, "They that go down to the sea" in ships^[m]."

SUPPOSING then that *sea*, and not land, is intended, what are we to understand by the *Scythic sea*? In my opinion, this is capable of a two-fold interpretation, and is to be understood of one thing in Gildas, and of another in Nennius, but with equal propriety in both.

In Gildas, it appears to mean the Irish sea; the Scots coming from Ireland, and joining with the Picts in the invasion of the Britons. And without entering deeply into the origin of the Scots in Ireland, whose story is enveloped but too much in fable, one may assume, that the Northern Irish came from Scythia. The Irish themselves acknowledge a Scythian origi-

[k] Ran. Higden. p. 194. 199. 204. bis.

[l] Camden, col. cxlv.

[m] Psal. cvii. 23. See on this subject Hutchinson ad Xen. Anac. p. 2.

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nal [n], and that horrible custom of eating their own dead, common to the Irish and the Massagetæ [o], a Scythian nation, is a particular of so characteristic and singular a nature, that it may alone suffice to evince the descent of the former from Scythia. And when we consider that Scandinavia [p], and even Germany [q], was anciently called *Scythia*, well might this people be esteemed Scythians, or, if you will, *Norwegians* [r]. But let us attend to the words of Mr. Camden, relative to the Scythian extraction of the Scots, and the etymon of this name:

“ I DESIRE it may be enquired by the Scots, whether they
“ were not called by their neighbours, *quasi Scythæ*. For, as
“ the Low-Dutch call both *Scythians* and *Scots* by one name,
“ *Scutten*; so it may be observed from the British writers, that
“ our Britains likewise called both of them *y-scot* [s]. Ninnius

[n] Camd. col. cxlvi. Spencer, View of the State of Ireland, p. 90. edit. 1750. Innes, II. p. 536. 661. Ware, II. p. 3. Univ. Hist. XV. p. 535.

[o] Herodotus, I. § 216. Hornius de orig. Americ. p. 204. Sheringham, p. 454. Kirschman de Fun. Rom. p. 670. 673. And to the newly discovered nations in the South seas, and the people of Sumatra and Bencoolen at this day. The story of Atreus and Thyestes shew how detestable it was among the Greeks; and it was not less abominable to the Medes, Justin I. c. 5. To which passage Orosius alludes, I. cap. 19. The Hon. Mr. Barrington in his note on the English translation of the Saxon version of this author, p. 43, overlooked it. I wish too he had there written the name of Astia's general, *Arpelles*, instead of *Appelles*, as that is agreeable to the Saxon text, and approaches nearer to *Harpagus* in Justin. Most of the MSS. and editions of Orosius give us *Harpalus*, though I suppose wrongfully. See Havercamp ad Orosium, and this comes very near to *Arpelles*.

[p] Camd. col. cxxxvii. Stillingfl. Orig. Brit. p. 246.

[q] Camd. col. cxlviii. Stillingfl. l. c.

[r] Girald. Cambr. Top. Hib. 749. Camd. col. cxlviii. Mr. T. Warton, p. xxxiii. Stillingfl. in Pref. p. xxxvii. and p. 246.

[s] Mr. Richards in his British Dictionary, interprets *y-scottid*, the Irish or ancient Scots.

“ also

“ also expressly calls the British inhabitants of Ireland, *Scythae*;
 “ and Gildas calls that sea which they passed over out of Ireland
 “ into Britain, *Vallis Scythica*. For so it is in the Paris edition;
 “ whereas other editions absurdly read it *Styticha vallis*. Again,
 “ King Alfred (who, eight hundred years ago, turned Orosius’s
 “ history into Saxon), translates *Scots* by the word *Scyttan*;
 “ and our own borderers on Scotland do not call them *Scots*,
 “ but *Scyttes* and *Scetts*.” “ For as the same people (so Wal-
 “ singham has it) are called *Getae*, *Getici*, *Gothi*, *Gothici*; so
 “ from one and the same original come *Scythae*, *Scitici*, *Scoti*,
 “ *Scotici* [1].” Some indeed are of opinion, that the Irish Scots
 were derived from Scotland, and not vice versa; but this makes
 no difference in the matter, as they were apparently both one
 and the same people. But here, perhaps, it may be said, that,
 by the sea, which the Scots crossed in order to attack the Britons,
 is not meant the Irish sea, but the Friths of Scotland. Bishop
 Gibson has returned a very satisfactory answer to this objection:
 “ Though it is true, says he, that these Friths are sometimes
 “ called *maria*, or seas, yet they cannot be meant on this oc-
 “ casion, because Gildas and Bede expressly tell us,” “ that
 “ when the Roman legion first defeated the *Picts* and *Scots*,
 “ they commanded a wall to be built between the two seas to
 “ hinder their incursion,” “ which would have served no end
 “ or purpose, if their former custom had been to cross over the
 “ two Friths, and land on this side the wall; so that the plain
 “ meaning must be, that the Scots crossed the sea from Ireland,
 “ and landing in the North parts of Britain, joined the Picts,

[1] Camd. col. cxlv. See this repeated and further urged by Innes, II. p. 537;

“ and

“ and so marched towards the wall, and, as the same historians
 “ say, pulled the poor Britains from it with hooks, and forced
 “ their passage into the Roman province, which had been need-
 “ less if their way had been to pass over the Friths, between
 “ which the wall was built [u].” To which I shall only add,
 that Mr. Selden, Sir James Ware, and others, agree in this in-
 terpretation [w].

Now in regard to Nennius; when he uses the term *Scythica vallis*, he is speaking of Hengist's sending from Britain to his own country for a reinforcement, and consequently must mean the Scottish sea, part of the German ocean. This is what Higden, in his description of Scotland, calls *Scoticum mare*, and says the Picts in the North-east of Scotland bordered upon it [x]; and this, it must be allowed, is just as proper as the former, since Scandinavia and Germany were styled *Scythia*, as we have shewn, and that sea might in strictness be called *Scythicum mare*, or what is of the same import, *Scythica vallis*.

I AM of opinion, on the whole, that in Gildas, whose words I proposed to illustrate, *Scythica vallis* intends the Irish sea, flowing between Ireland and the West of Scotland; and therefore I would render the passage thus:

“ On the departure of the Romans to their own home, a
 “ horrid crew of Scots and Picts disembarked, with the utmost
 “ haste and eagerness, from on board the corraghs, in which
 “ they had crossed the Irish sea; and, being sensible that our
 “ allies were withdrawn with a declaration never to return, they,
 “ with more boldness than ever, seized the North Eastern and

[u] Bp. Gibson, in Camden, col. cxliv.

[w] Sir James Ware, II. p. 179. Bp. Lloyd, Ch. Govern. of Britain. p. 20. 28.

[x] See the passages cited from him above.

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" remote part [z] of the country, even up to the wall, expelling
" thence all the natives, or former inhabitants."

SAMUEL PEGGE.

Whittington, 1 Jan. 1777.

[z] Quere, Whether we ought not to read *extimamque* terrae partem, instead of *extremamque*, as they came up to the very wall, which cannot so properly be termed the *extreme part of the country*, as the *part just without the wall* and adjoining to it? It was thence, we must suppose, they drove away the inhabitants. *Extimam* might easily be misread *extremam*, as this was often written abbreviately *ext'mam*; and it was usual for this enemy to waste the country near the wall. See Amm. Marcellin. p. 233.

XXVIII. *Observations on an inedited Coin in the Collection of Dr. Hunter. By Mr. Combe, F. S. A. In a Letter to Mathew Duane, Esq.*

Read January 15, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

AS I am persuaded every addition to the cabinet to which you have so largely contributed, and every attempt to throw additional light on the Numismatic science will afford you much pleasure, give me leave, through your hands, to present to the Society of Antiquaries, a drawing, with some few remarks, of the inedited coin N^o 2. which has lately been added to that collection. It gives me, at the same time, an opportunity of acknowledging the many favours I have received, and the friendship, readiness, and politeness, with which you have always assisted me in these pursuits, and which will ever be gratefully remembered, by

Your much obliged,
and obedient humble servant,
CHA. COMBE.

Bloomsbury-Square, 13th Jan. 1778.

Mr. PEGGE on an important historical Passage of Gildas. 279

“ remote part [y] of the country, even up to the wall, expelling
“ thence all the natives, or former inhabitants.”

SAMUEL PEGGE.

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[y] Quere, Whether we ought not to read *extimamque* terrae partem, instead of *extremamque*, as they came up to the very wall, which cannot so properly be termed the *extreme part of the country*, as the part just without the wall and adjoining to it? It was thence, we must suppose, they drove away the inhabitants. *Extimam* might easily be misread *extremam*, as this was often written abbreviately *extmam*; and it was usual for this enemy to waste the country near the wall. See Amm. Marcellin. p. 233.

XXVIII. *Description of a third unpublished royal Seal,
in the Possession of Owen Salusbury Briceton, Esq.*

Read January 29, 1778.

THIS seal of brass very finely cut, belongs to Henrietta Maria, daughter of the Great Henry IV. of France, and wife to our Charles I. The arms are England, France, and Navarre, borne separately in a lozenge, with the words HENRETTA MARIA, DEI GRATIAE ANGLIAE, SCOTIAE, FRANCIÆ, ET HIBERNIAE, REGINAE round it. The supporters of the arms are, the Lion of England and the St. Michael powdered with fleurs de lis. On the reverse, the queen at full length, under a canopy, crowned and in royal robes, with the scepter in her right hand, and the globe in her left; the arms of England on her right side and of France without Navarre, on her left; both crowned with Imperial crowns, and the same inscription round the whole.

WHAT little we know of this queen is, that upon the Spanish match being broken off between Charles, when prince of Wales, and the Infanta of Spain, he applied to his father James the First, to demand Henrietta of France, whom he had seen incognito at a ball at Paris, when on his journey to Spain.

* See Pl. XXIV.

PREVIOUS



PREVIOUS to the marriage, it was agreed, that the queen should enjoy all manner of indulgence with respect to her religion, and should superintend the education of her children till their age of thirteen; which will account in a great measure for the religion both Charles the Second and James the Second died in.

THE portion this queen brought with her was only 60,000 French crowns, which Charles soon disposed of, and made grants of lands to her in lieu of it, for lives and years, at Chertsey and in several counties in England, which accounts for her having such a seal. Several leases granted by her, with this seal annexed, are still extant, and I have heard of one which appears to have been executed some time after her death, the seal being always kept in England.

A LITTLE before King Charles put himself into the arms of the Scotch, she fled first to Holland, and next to France, where, after paying the king one more visit in England, she in general resided.

IN November 1660, she returned to England to congratulate her son Charles the Second upon his restoration, and then went back to France, where she died in 1669.

MUCH mischief ensued to Charles's affairs by her intermeddling at first, as well as by her pride and bigotry. She inherited none of the talents of her great father, and though she was artful she had little good success in all her schemes.

XXIX. *Memoire on the Roman Earthen Ware fished up
within the Mouth of the River Thames. By Thomas
Pownall, Esq. F. S. A.*

Read Jan. 22, 1778.

WITHIN the space of a few years back, people who are curious in antiquities have taken occasion to observe a very peculiar kind of red earthen ware found amidst the cottage furniture of the fishermen on the Kentish coast, within the mouth of the river Thames. On examination they have discovered it to be ancient Roman manufacture. Upon enquiry after the source from whence such great quantities of this earthen ware could have been for so many years derived, a traditional story has been brought forward, and is now the current solution of this curious fact; namely, that some Roman vessel, freighted with these wares, must have been many ages ago cast away; and that upon the wreck of its hulk breaking up, this curious lading poured forth into the open sea on the coasts, hath been dragged up from time to time by the fishermen's nets: and the place of the wreck has been supposed to be somewhere about Whitstable-bay.

INSTEAD

INSTEAD of suppositions, this memoir means to state and reason upon a very curious fact, which my brother John, now commissioner of excise (in the true spirit of investigation) traced to its source.

WHEN first in Kent, in the year 1773, some of this ware was shewn to him; he was told the old trite story, and directed to Whitstable as the place of this supposed wreck; but take the fact in his own words:

" IN the summer of 1773, Mr. Boyce, a surgeon at Sandwich, shewed me, amongst a variety of curious antique coins, &c. collected at the stations of Rutupium and Regulbium, many fragments, and some entire pieces of Roman pottery, which he informed me had been taken out of the sea upon the coast of Kent, in a particular spot near the entrance of Whitstable bay, by the fishermen of that place; and that it was generally supposed by Antiquaries to be part of the cargo of a Roman ship laden with pots, and wrecked on the coast.

" I WENT to Whitstable, where, after much fruitless enquiry, I at last found an old fisherman, who had in his possession two or three of these Roman pans, which were in common domestic use. This man informed me, that he had at different times, and more especially in dredging for oysters after tempestuous weather, taken up large quantities of the same and other sorts; but that it was only at one particular place, which he described to be at two or three leagues from the shore, and which was well known to the fishermen by the name of *Pudding-pan-sand*, or rock. To this spot I was determined to go, and engaged the old fisherman to accompany me, taking with us a net, such as is used in dredging for oysters. It having been some time since the old man had been at sea, we did not find the place very readily, but suc-

ceeded

“ exceeded at length, and found it to lie at the entrance of a
 “ channel at the back of Margate-sand, now known by the
 “ name of the Queen’s Channel, at about two leagues from the
 “ coast. The extent of the shoal I could not exactly judge of,
 “ but conceived, by the soundings about it, that it was not
 “ much larger than the hulk of a moderate-sized ship*, having
 “ upon it about nine feet at low water, and about three fathom
 “ all round it. After sounding with a lead and line, I sounded
 “ with the cross-jack yard, by which I plainly discovered the
 “ shoal to be of a rocky substance. Upon the first haul of the
 “ net, along one side of it we brought up a large fragment of
 “ brick-work cemented together, which I guessed might weigh
 “ about half a hundred weight, together with some small pieces
 “ of broken pans: upon a second haul we took up a few small
 “ fragments of pans; but upon farther trial we brought three
 “ entire pans. I would have made further trials, but a gale of
 “ wind coming on, I was obliged to avail myself of the tide
 “ of flood to regain Whitstable.”

Thus far goes my brother’s account as given to me.

BEFORE I proceed to give my own opinion of this state of this very curious fact, I will, in justice to the supposition of this mine of Roman earthen ware being the wreck of some vessel freighted with it, observe, that this earthen ware did actually make a great article of their freights. “ *Et hæc quoque*” (says Pliny, in the 35th book of his Natural History, c. 46. speaking of the *Terrena Vasa*) “ *per maria terrasque ultra citroque portantur.*”

THE first thing which occurred to me on the state of the fact as above given, was, that this spot has been long known not only to our fishermen, but also to our geographers, for the long

* Quere, Did the ideas of the old story of a wreck operate to this conception? sand

sand in the middle of the mouth of the Thames, but particularly what has been called the *speck* of it, perhaps from having been just there visible, the Pan-sand. It is so marked in all our oldest maps and charts. The reason of the appellation has not perhaps been so well understood; for although the poor fishermen, from the abundance of this ware here found, got many an useful utensil on the spot, yet it was not their business or interest. On the contrary, these pans have always, till my brother found the actual spot, been supposed to have been fished up on the coast where the fishermen, in whose possession they were, lived.

From the mass of brick-work which the drag-net first brought up, and from the rocky feel of this speck, supposed to be a substance of the like nature, an observation naturally occurs, that here are the ruins of a building. I have particularly asked my brother, whether the bricks dragged up with the pottery on the Pan-sand were Roman or not; he assures me, he conceives that they were. The quantity of this earthen ware found amidst these ruins shows, that these vessels are not the mere household stuff of any light-house, or other toll or watch-house erected on this spot, now a sunken sand, but rather that here was some store or manufactory of this ware. Under this idea I set about to look into the geography of the ancients, in search whether there was any island noticed in or about this place; and I find, in Ptolomy's second book of his geography, two islands in the mouth of the Thames.

Lat.

Τολιάπις - - - $\text{vd } \delta = 54^{\circ} 15'$

Κωνος Νησος - - - $\text{vd } L' = 54^{\circ} 30'$

THE

THE first of these islands is known for certain to be the Isle of Shepey: and that the second is not the Isle of Thanet, the difference of latitude between Τολιάπις and Κωνος sufficiently evinces; for Shepey and Thanet are as nearly as can be pronounced with accuracy of two tracts lying in different forms in the same latitude. But, even this apart, Κάψιον Ἀκρον, the Promontory of Kent, or North-foreland, which is in the Isle of Thanet, is mentioned separate, and distinctly placed in Lat. 58 or 54. Here then the fact of ruins of a building on the Pansand, and the fact of ancient geography unite in giving us in the time of the Romans an island in the very spot in question. Two reasons for the name occur. The one drawn from the nature of the place, and from the custom of men giving such names to such places. I believe there is scarce any great river that has not some island in it called, as different languages may express the same thing, *Reedy Island*. And this very word *Kawnen*, in the British language, signifies that very thing. The second reason partakes more of conjecture, and I throw it out merely as amusement. It is certain that several of the towns of lesser Asia, Caria, and the Ionic isles, were famous for the manufacture of earthen ware, carried to a degree of perfection and price. "Ut etiam (as Pliny says) fictilia pluris constant quam myrrhina." Amongst these there was a maritime town called Kaunos. This our Koanlian manufacture might derive its name and give the same to the island where it was made from the name of a place, whose manufacture it attempted to imitate, as will appear hereafter. Be the reason of the name as it may, the fact is that, in the time of the Romans here was an island called Κωνος Νηος. That here are the remains of buildings, and the calling this particular spot *the Speck*, shows further, that even since the English language prevailed, a *Speck* of it was to be seen.

THERE

THERE are but two sorts of vessels, of two different kind of composition, found here. The one a red sort, the Ionian, or particularly the Samian, which is most commonly found: The other is of the dark Tuscan brown, or black. The first is of a coarser kind; the latter is thin, light, and of a finer texture. All the vessels which I have seen of the first sort, are of the species of *Patera* and *Capedo*. I have not been able to meet with any entire specimen of the dark-coloured finer sort, the thinness and fine texture rendering it so liable to be broken, especially in the manner in which it lies amongst ruins, and by which it is dragged up. But from the specimens of the fragments which I have seen, these vessels appear to me to have been of the species of the *Simpula* or *Simpuvia* and *Catini*.

CONSIDERING the nature of these vessels, and comparing them with the idea which I collect of the nature and uses of vessels of the like sort, my reasoning leads me to suppose, that this was a manufactory specially employed in making the earthen vessels, which, according to the Roman ritual, were used in the religious ceremonies; and that the particular director *Collegii Figulorum*, by name *Atillianus*, had his works here.

It was originally, and continued to be in the times of their highest refinements and luxury, part of the Roman ritual to use earthen ware in their sacrifices. “*Paupertas Pop. Romano, Imperium a primordio fundavit, proque eo in hodiernum Diis immortalibus Simpulo & Catino fictili sacrificant.*” (*Apul. Apol. p. 434.*) “*In sacris quidam & inter has opes*” (says *Pliny, Nat. Hist. Lib. 35.*) “*non myrrhinis chrystilinisve sed fictilibus prolibatur simpulis. Quid? Numae Pompilii minusve gratas Diis immortalibus capedines ac fictiles urnulas fuisse, quam filicatas aliorum pateras arbitramur?*” Of this earthen ware thus used at Rome, the Samian red ware was in the most repute. See *Plautus*, who says,

“ Ad rem divinam quibus opus est Samiis vasis utitur.”

I FIND the same idea repeated and confirmed in a fragment quoted from Cicero's sixth book *De Repub.* (edit. Oliveti vol. IX.) “ Oratio extat Laeti, quam omnes habemus in manibus, quam simpuvia Pontificum Diis immortalibus grata sint, Samiaeque, ut hic scribit, capedines.” These Samian vessels were, as Pitiscus says, made “ ex luto Samio in rubrum colorem vertente.” Just such are these our Paterae and Capedines of this our *Kalnian manufactory*. In like manner did our manufacturer keep close to the ritual in forming the Simpuvia and Catini of the dark brown or black composition; for of such sort were the same vessels used in the city itself, as you may learn from Juvenal, Sat. VI. ver. 343.

“ Simpuvium videre Numa nigrumque catinum.”

WHEN I first saw these vessels, I was disgusted at the coarseness of the manufacture, but since I learnt from the ideas collected as above, that an *affected poverty* in these was the spirit of the Ritual, I have found myself satisfied in viewing them as strictly orthodox relics of Numa's pious humble institutions, rather than as specimens of the Roman arts and taste.

I HAVE referred above to the supposition of this manufactory being under the direction of a College of Potters, appointed specially for the purpose of making these holy vessels. And it stands as a fact (mentioned by Pliny as above), “ Ob quae Numa Rex septimum collegium figulorum instituit.” Hence it is (as I suppose) that in these holy vessels only, one constantly finds the name of the manufacturer impressed by a stamp upon them, and only (as far as I have seen) one name on all, that of

Atillianus, whom I suppose to have been director of the college. The stamp is of the following form:

ATILLIANI. M.

i. e. Attiliani manibus factum.

THE stamp being in intaglio gives the letters in caméo. The letters are not of such wretched types as we see the letters of almost all the inscriptions found in Britain, but for precision of form, and sharpness and neatness of cut, are equal to the finest of Elzevir, or of the Glasgow press. I suppose, therefore, the stamp to have been sent from Rome as duly to authenticate the authority of the manufacture. It is not usual, nor do I recollect one instance, to have the name of the manufacturer on the earthen ware of any other kind.

PERHAPS as the unornamented simplicity of these holy vessels has been, by some of the passages which I have quoted above, brought in contrast with the *vasa filicata, haederata et pampinata*, it may not be wholly impertinent to the matter of this memoir, nor altogether unsatisfactory, to explain the nature of these regulated ornaments found with so little variety on the richer vessels of parade and luxury. These ornaments, like those in architecture, were taken from the beautiful forms of plants, and used not wildly as fancy and caprice directed, but under strict and regulated rules of fact and truth in composition. The first form was taken from the Fern species; the second from the different species of the Hederae. Those which copied the forms of the honeysuckle kind were the richest and of the most exquisite taste. They are found in the best ex-

emplars of Greece and Etruria. The finest exemplars that I have seen of the Vasa Pampinata, whose ornaments are taken from the vine, is in the godron which forms the lip or edge of that exquisitely fine vase lately sent to England by Sir William Hamilton, and purchased by Lord Warwick.

T. POWNALL.

Richmond, Dec. 20, 1777.

* * Several of the earthen vessels mentioned in this paper are in the cabinet of Gustavus Brander, Esq. The impression on the smallest vessel is OTIMVI.

ON the next in size ATILIANIM.

ON the 3d CARIIN *

ON the 5th SAIV . . . NINI + Saturnini.

THE 4th illegible.

THE 6th or largest has no inscription, but the rim is ornamented with raised foliage.

ONE of these has a native oyster shell beautifully inlaid in the material itself.

* A fine whole patera of red earth well varnished, inscribed with these letters CAXETIM, was fished up off the Pan-Pudding rock at Reculver. It was preserved by the shell-fish sticking on the inside. Minutes, 1755.

XXX. Obser-

XXX. *Observations on some Antiquities found in the Tower of London in the Year 1777. Addressed to the Society of Antiquaries, Jan. 29, 1778. By the President.*

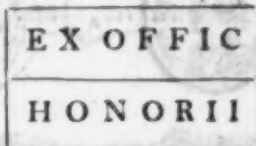
THE ingot of silver which I have now the honour to exhibit to the Society, is a most singular curiosity, and was discovered in the month of September last, on digging for the foundations of a new office for the Board of Ordnance in the Tower; where, having sunk to a great depth, and broken through foundations of ancient buildings, it was found on the natural ground, and, as it is supposed, even below the level of the present bed of the river. In the same place were found three gold coins, or aurei; one of the Emperor Honorius, and two of Arcadius, which will be described in the course of these observations. The piece of silver, in the form of a double wedge, is 4 inches long, 2 inches and $\frac{1}{2}$ broad in the broadest part, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in the narrowest, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch thick in the middle. It was probably cast at first in a square or oblong form, but has since been beaten into a broader superficies, and sharpened towards the extremities, where the strokes of the hammer are plainly visible*.

In the center of its area is impressed in Roman letters, an inscription in two lines. All these letters, except the two last in each line,

* See Pl. XXV. No. 1.

are

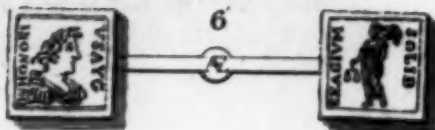
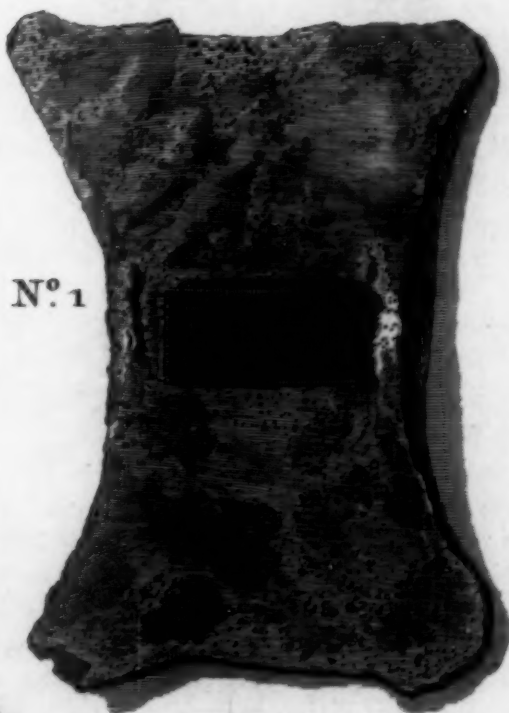
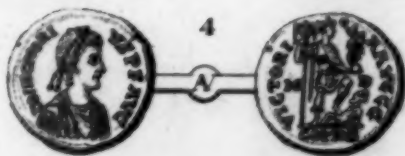
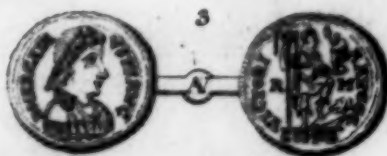
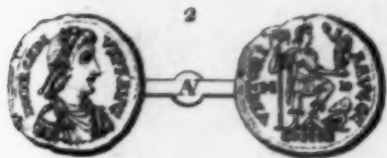
are very legible. The others were either originally so faintly impressed, or since flattened by the hammer, that they represent rather a doubtful relief; but the traces of them connected with the preceding letters, sufficiently justify our reading the whole in the following manner:



Ex Officina Honorii.

THERE can be little doubt but this inscription, or mark, was impressed on the piece as soon as it came from the melting-house, or at least as soon as it was assayed; and that it was intended to ascertain its purity, possibly its weight also, as well as the house or office where it was melted or assayed; in the same manner as similar marks are stamped on the tin blocks when assayed, or in the language of the tanners, when *coined* for sale.

FROM the words of the inscription, which declare this silver to come *Ex Officina Honorii*, will arise two questions, viz. whether *Officina* here means the melting-house, the office of the mint, or both; and whether *Honorius* was the name of an officer in either of those departments, or is meant to convey that of the Emperor, and to authenticate the purity and weight of the piece according to the establishment and standard of the Imperial mint. There are many arguments which induce us to understand the inscription in the last and fullest sense of the words. In the first place, the form of the letters, and the stile of the inscription, unite in giving it an antiquity coeval with that Emperor. He came to the empire in 393, which he governed in the West as his



DN·HONORI AVQ·

his brother and colleague Arcadius did in the East; and was the last of the Roman Emperors who preserved any power in Britain; for in the year 410 he restored to the inhabitants their freedom, and renounced all jurisdiction over them. The Roman troops being soon after totally withdrawn, and the Picts and Scots having attacked them in this defenceless state, as they had often done before, they were obliged to have recourse to the assistance of the Saxons. The impoverished state and distress of the nation at that time, and the circumstances of their new allies, produced no coins or regulations of the mint, and the period was considerably long between the reign of Honorius, and the first attempt of coinage by the Saxons: not to mention that the name of Honorius is likewise so entirely Roman, and so peculiarly circumstanced that it is not only confined to the æra, but also to the person of the Emperor; for the name of Honorius appears but once applied to any other person in the great collection of Roman inscriptions, by Gruter and Reinesius; and even that instance is marked by the editor as a mistake. Some of the Popes in succeeding ages assumed that name, but the first of them lived not till the beginning of the 7th century.

Nor can we suppose, with any degree of probability, that a person bearing this Roman name, should have any office in the English mint, if any mint did subsist after that Emperor's time, when the Romans had relinquished the island, and during the confusion and distress which followed that epocha. But this point seems to be put beyond all dispute by the three aurei found together with this ingot*: one of which is of the Emperor Honorius, the other two of his brother Arcadius, and all of them in the highest preservation, and most perfect weight, viz. 73 Troy grains each, which is precisely the 6th part of the Roman ounce; whence the Aureus received the name of *Sextula* in

* Pl. XXV. No. 2, 3, 4.

Latin, and 'Εξάγριον in Greek; computing, according to the universal opinion of the best critics, the antient Roman ounce to have been the same with the modern avoirdupois ounce, whose weight is 438 Troy grains. There is such a resemblance in the workmanship, the reverses, and legends of these medals, that there can remain very little doubt that they were struck at the same time, and in the same mint; the difference between them being only in the name and some small variation in the features of each Emperor. Their description is as follows:

The Head of Honorius with a Diadem.

DN HONORIVS PF· AVC

Reverse, a military figure treading down a captive with his left foot, holding a small figure of victory in his right hand, and in his left a labarum. The legend on the contour is VICTORIA AVGGG, at bottom CONOB, and in the area on each side of the figure the two capital letters N and D.

THIS description will serve for the two coins of Arcadius, except in the name of the Emperor, and the capital letters in the area, which in one are the same as on Honorius's coin, on the other are R. N.

THESE coins were in all probability struck at Constantinople, where the great Imperial mint was established for the coinage of gold, from the time that Constantine the Great made that city the seat of his empire; and indeed Arcadius's aurei could not with propriety be struck in any other city; nor is it probable that Honorius's money was coined at that time in Rome, on account of the inroads that the Goths were then making into Italy, and the subsequent siege and capture of that city; and though the words CONOB, which are so often found on the gold coins of the lower empire, may not absolutely confine the
coinage

coinage of the aurei to that city, and possibly are not justly rendered by *Constantinopoli Obfignata*; yet if the other explanation of the words *Constantinopolis Obryzum* signified that the gold was as pure, or the value of the coin as great, as that of the aurei struck at Constantinople, it still points out that city as the fountain and standard of the gold coinage.

INDEED the resemblance in the device, legend, and workmanship of the coins, could not be so great had they not all issued from one mint. The aurei were therefore undoubtedly imported into England, and probably the silver ingot with them, as there seems to be no particular reason to suppose that the latter was melted, refined, or stamped within this kingdom. There might be and probably was a mint in London during the time of the Romans for the coinage of copper at least, if not for silver also; and even in that case the supplies for that coinage might be received from other countries where the silver was easiest to be had.

THE Tower of London was undoubtedly the capital fortress of the Romans; it was their treasury as well as their mint: in that place therefore was deposited whatever was necessary for the support of their establishment and the payment of their troops. Whether, therefore, this silver ingot was intended to be coined into money, or to pass in its present form of bullion, and to be valued according to its weight, it should seem, that together with the aurei, it might be a small specimen and remain of the Roman treasury sent into Britain for some particular exigency which called for it during the reign of the Emperor Honorius, for neither the gold coins nor the silver ingot admit of an earlier date. Now it appears from History, that on the de-

cline of the Roman power in Britain, and the withdrawing their troops, the Britons became exposed to the piracies of the Saxons, on their Eastern coasts; to the Scots, who made inroads from Ireland on their Western coasts; and to the Picts on their Northern frontier. A Roman legion was then engaged in their assistance, by order of Stilicho, who governed the Western empire under Honorius with an absolute sway. The poet Claudian, in his Panegyrick on that general, and in other passages of his poems, mentions this legion as employed in defending Britain against the Picts and Scots; for, in describing the forces which were sent against Alaric from different parts of the empire to the Gothic war in 403, he takes notice of a legion which had been before stationed in Britain*.

“ Venit & extremis legio pretenta Britannis,
 “ Quae Scoto dat fraena truci, ferroque notatas
 “ Perlegit *exangues* * Picto moriente figuras.”

De Bello Getico, line 416.

And in his poem on Stilicho he makes Britain say,

“ Inde Caledonio velata Britannia monstro,
 “ Ferro picta genas, cujus vestigia verrit
 “ Caerulus, Oceanique cestum mentitur amictus;
 “ Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
 “ Me *juvit*† Stilicho, totam cum Scotus *Iernem*‡
 “ Movit, & infesto spumavit remige Tethys.

* These passages are quoted as they stand in the Delphin edition, and in that of Maittaire; but they are cited with the following small variations by Abp. Usher in his *Antiquit. Eccles. Britain*, p. 181, and 310; and by Camden in his *Introduction*, Ed. Gibson, p. ciii.

* *exanimis*, Usher and Camd. † *munivit*, Usher and Camd. ‡ *Hybernem*, Camd.

" Illius effectum curis, ne tela timerem
 " Scotica, ne§ Pictum tremere, ne|| littore tuto*
 " Prospicerem dubiis venturum† Saxona ventis."

In Pr. Conf. Stilich, lib. ii. carmen 22. l. 247.

It seems that this legion answered the purposes for which it was employed; the poet observing, " that the Picts and Saxons " being overcome, the sea was quiet, and Britain was delivered " from her fears;" for he thus addresses the Emperor Honorius:

— — — " Quantum te principe possim
 " Non longinqua docent; domito quod Saxone Tethys
 " Mitior, aut fracto secura Britannia Picto."

In Eutrop. Carm. xviii. l. 391.

CAN any other aera or service better account for the importation and use of those gold and silver pieces before mentioned, than that which is here assigned to it?

It has already been observed, that the stamp and impression on the silver ingot might be intended either to certify the standard purity of the metal, in case it should be struck into coins, or applied to other uses; or else to ascertain the weight of some particular denomination. In order to decide on the latter question, it must be observed, that this piece of silver now weighs 4992 Troy grains, which, reduced into ounces, will give 10 oz. 8 gr. of the Troy pound; of the Tower pound 11 oz. 1 dw. 18 gr. and in Avoirdupois ounces, which are supposed to be the same weight with the Roman, 11 oz. 7 dw. 6 gr. and consequently it will be found deficient of a Roman pound by 12 dw. 18 gr. Troy. Whether this deficiency can be accounted for either by the cor-

§ nec, Camd. || nec, Camd. * toto, Usher. † venientem, Camd.

roding the silver, which is not a little consumed on the surface, or by the inaccuracy or fraud of the officers who conducted the mint; or whether it was originally intended for a pound weight of silver, are doubts left to the determination of more able judges.

It is however particularly memorable, that though the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius are not illustrious in History for actions of glory and conquest, yet their regulations concerning the weight and value of gold and silver, and their proportional value with respect to each other, remain upon record. In the first year of their reign, under the consulship of Caesarius and Atticus, an edict was issued, that sums of money which were to be brought to the Imperial treasury *in silver*, might be received in gold in the following proportion, *viz.* that for every pound weight of silver 5 solidi aurei should be received.

“JUBEMUS ut pro *argenti* summa quam quis Thesauris fuerit inlaturus, inferendi *aurei* facultatem habeat, ita ut pro singulis libris argenti quinos solidos inferat.” Liber Unic. Cod. Theod. de Arm. pretio.

THIS edict settles the proportional value of gold to silver at $14 \frac{2}{3}$ to one. It is also remarkable, that the standard of a pound weight, and that of the solidus aureus, should be extant under Honorius's name. Both are mentioned in Father Montfaucon's Antiquities, tom. III. p. 107.* The former, which is in the cabinet of M. Foucault, is almost in a spherical form, like a bowl, with the following inscription round it:

DOMINI NOSTRI HONORI AVG PONDO LIBRAE.

THE latter is a flat piece of red copper, having on one side the head of the Emperor with this legend:

* Pl. XXV. No. 5.

D N.

DN. HONORIVS. AVG.

On the reverse the goddess Moneta is represented holding a pair of scales, and this inscription round it*:

EXAGIVM SOLIDI.

That is to say, *the standard weight of the solidus*; which being the 6th part of the ounce, was called *ἑξάγων* in Greek, and *Sex-tula* in Latin. Bouteroue, who takes notice of this piece, says "it weighs 83 French grains, and may have lost something by the wear;" and as 84 French grains are equal only to 68 Troy †, there must have been a loss in this weight of 5 Troy grains, if we would make it correspond with these aurei of Arcadius and Honorius.

If this piece of silver be considered independant of its weight, and only as a stamped piece of bullion, there is something particular in its being beaten into its present form of a double wedge. Whether this was done before or after it was stamped, or designed to prove the malleability of the metal, I do not pretend to decide, but would only observe, that the Britons generally cast their warlike weapons called Celts in the shape of a wedge, and sometimes in that of a double wedge; this might have been also the usual form for gold and silver ingots.

It is a very common idea (though at present not strictly true), that our Kings offer, on New Year's Day, a *Byzant*, or *wedge of gold*. Whatever may have been the antient custom, the present royal offering, whenever the King communicates at his chapel,

* Pl. XXV. No. 6.

† Dr. Hunter has two square pieces of copper, exactly similar to this, and with the same inscription; but they both fall short of that mentioned by Father Mont-faucon, the one weighing 66 grains, the other 64.

consists of five guineas. There is no offering on New-Year's Day; but that made by the Lord Chamberlain, for the King, on Twelfth Day, is a box containing three purses, wherein are separately contained, leaf gold, frankincense, and myrrh, in imitation of the offering by the Magi. It is not improbable that the former of these offerings might have been made in ancient times, either in minted or unminted gold; the former being denominated the Byzant, from the gold coin of the Byzantine empire so called; and the latter called a wedge, either from its form, or merely from its being a piece of *bullion*; the Saxon word *pecte* signifying, according to Junius, either a wedge, or a mass of any metal; and as the English are supposed to have coined no gold before Henry the Third's time, and the *solidi aurei* of the empire might not be very numerous in the kingdom, it is no wonder if the royal offering was at first made in *bullion* gold. At least we find, that in the ceremony of the coronation, the King offered a pound weight of gold.

IN the indenture for the coronation of Richard III. in the wardrobe office, amongst the articles to be provided for that ceremony, it is said: "Item, a pound of gold that the King shall offere;" and most probably the same custom was observed to the time of Henry the Eighth inclusively, for the record of that King's coronation, bound in the same volume with that of Richard III. says: "Item, a pound of gold to be delivered by the Tresorer of the Household."

BUT this custom was altered either by Queen Mary or Queen Elizabeth; for in the list of jewels belonging to the latter princess, in the hands of the Master of the Jewel-Office, the two following articles are specified.

"ITEM, a Befaunt of gold, having the Trinitie graven on the one side, and our Ladye on the other side, 1 oz.

"ITEM,

"ITEM, one Befaunt of gold, having the Trinitie thereupon graven, 2 oz. and a quarter."

THE former of these, with the representation of the Virgin Mary on it, seems to have been made by Queen Mary; and the latter, which had only the representation of the Trinitie, might have been Queen Elizabeth's Befaunt. The origin and use of these Befaunts is pointed out by Mr. Camden in his remains (Title Money) who says, "that a great piece of gold, valued at fifteen pounds, which the King offereth on high festival days, is yet called a Bezantine, which was antiently a piece of gold coyned by the Emperors of Constantinople; but afterwards there were two purposely made for the King and the Queen, with the resemblance of the Trinitie inscribed, *In Honorem sanctae Trinitatis*; and on the other side the picture of the Virgin Mary, *In Honorem sanctae Mariae Virginis*."

CAMDEN's description of these two pieces agrees perfectly with the two before mentioned; and from the images represented on them, as well as from Camden's account, it may be concluded, that they were made for Philip and Mary; for the same author adds, that they were used till the first year of King James, who, upon just reason, "caused two to be new cast, one for himself, having on the one side the picture of a King kneeling before an altar, with four crowns before him, imploring his four kingdoms, and in the circumscription, *Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus quae tribuit mihi*: On the other side, a lamb lying by a lion, and this inscription, *Cor contritum & humiliatum non despiciet Deus*. On that for the Queen was represented a crown protected by a cherubim; over that an eye with the word *Deus* in the cloud, and *seget alis summus*: On the reverse, the Queen kneeling before an altar, with this circumscription, *Piis precibus, fervente fide, humili obsequio*."

But

But neither of these two jewels before mentioned, could be worth 15*l.* according to the weight there specified, for both of them would not exceed that value; not that this circumstance was material, because these Bezants were usually redeemed after the offering at a stated price; probably at 15*l.* without regard to their intrinsic value; and for this reason they were found remaining in the Queen's possession. I am not informed whether either of these pieces are still extant. Probably they were not struck in a die, but consisted only of a circular piece of hammered gold, with the devices engraven on them with a tool, in the same manner that we see some silver medals of Queen Elizabeth and King James.

BUT Bezants appear to have been offered by our Kings on more than one occasion. For it was a part of the ceremonial at the installation of the Knights of the Garter, that the Sovereign, if present, (or his Lieutenant in his absence) offered a Bezant, whilst the other Knights Companions offered gold and silver. It is not certain whether this Bezant was the same with these before mentioned, and with those offered at the coronation. To judge by the value they were different; for Ashmole, in his History of the Garter, (p. 582) observes, "that the Bezant offered at
" Windsor by Queen Elizabeth in the 2d year of her reign,
" was valued only at 7*l.* and redeemed of course; as also at
" sundry times since. But at the installation of the Duke of
" York, anno 11 Jac. regis, a question was proposed to the
" Dean and Canons, whether, if the Sovereign should offer his
" Bezant, it might be redeemed or not: Their answer then was,
" that whatsoever was there offered became the Dean's and
" Canons without redemption; whereupon the Sovereign waved
" offering his Bezant, and offered both gold and silver."

THERE is also an entry in the register of the order, anno 6 Car. 1. " That whereas in other places beside Windsor, the
" Sovereign

“ Sovereign is wont to offer a certain golden piece, vulgarly called a *Bezant*, to be redeemed afterwards at a certain price, the Usher of the Black Rod having sometime been admonished, that in these services there is no redemption to be made, never presents the *Bezant* at Windsor to the Sovereign, but gold and silver of English money.”

THE offerings in gold and silver, by the Knights Companions, on two different occasions, anno 1628, are particularized by Ashmole (p. 586), one of which amounted to 4*l.* 15*s.* the other to 6*l.* besides the *King's Bezant unredeemed*.

THE French Kings in their ceremonials had offerings similar to these. It was their custom to offer thirteen Byzantines at their coronation; and this offering was probably made during the more antient periods in *solidi aurei* of the Byzantine empire, as there was then but little gold minted in France, and their florens, which were first struck in the 13th century, were not of equal value with the aurei. But when Henry II. came to the crown in 1546, either for want of Imperial aurei, or perhaps thinking it dishonourable to offer money which was not coined in a French mint, he caused thirteen Byzantines to be struck expressly for that purpose, which, according to M. le Blanc, (p. 269.) weighed about a double ducat. There was also a ceremony instituted by Charlemagne, and recommended by him to his successors in the French monarchy, that they should offer four Byzants on the altar of the abbey of St. Denis when they came to that church*. And this ceremony was accordingly observed, for it is one of the articles charged to the account of Philip le Bel in 1201. “*Dominus Rex quando ivit ad sanctum Dionysium quatuor Byzantios.*”

* See Doublet's History of St. Denis and William de Nangis.

I SHALL conclude this digression by observing, that the word Byzant or Bezant, seemed always when spoken of gold to imply a piece of coined gold; and yet by the value and weight of those before mentioned, far exceeding that of all the European gold coins then current, it is reasonable to suppose, that in our kingdom at least they were introduced in the stead of a large piece of bullion gold which had been the usual offering in a more antient period.

THIS was not the only discovery made in the Tower on digging the foundations for the Ordnance Office. At some distance from the spot where the coins and silver ingot were found, and near an old well at the depth of about 18 feet from the surface, was found a stone with the following Roman inscription:



V. 304.

THE dimensions of this stone are 2 feet 8 inches high, by 2 feet 4 broad.

THE inner tablet 23 by 16 inches.

THERE is nothing very interesting in this inscription, though it may be explained various ways: *Diis manibus Titi Licinii Ascanius fecit*: or, *Titus Licinius Ascanius fecit*: or the final F may stand for *Frater* or *Filius*.

THE first of these interpretations is best supported by the authority of the inscription itself; which by putting the name of Licinius genitively, dedicates the stone to his Manes, and in this form many inscriptions may be seen in Gruter. There seems to be no reason for abbreviating the name of Licinius, nor does Ascanius appear to have been a person considerable enough to be honoured both with a Praenomen and a Cognomen. That name is to be found only four times amongst the Gruterian inscriptions; in one of which Ascanius was a slave, in another a freeman of the Emperor; in the other two it is used as an agnomen. But the difference in the name is of no importance any more than that in the final letter F.

A SMALL glass crown* (destined perhaps for the ornament of some small statue or image) was also found about the same time, together with a ring, which seems to be made of a shell. It has some letters obscurely marked, and a small piece of silver inlaid in order to form an ornament upon it which appears like a crown. Various coins and jettons of base metal were also found in the same place; with some of the Nuremburgh tokens, which are every where common, and other coins which evidently were the base currency of the second race of the French kings.

* Pl. XXV. No. 7.

XXXI. *A Letter to the Secretary, on the Origin of the English Language. By the Rev. Mr. Drake.*

Read November 7, 1776.

THOUGH I admire Mr. Whitaker's knowledge, and look upon his late publication of *Manchester* as a very valuable acquisition to the literary world, yet, I confess, I cannot acquiesce in every assertion that is there advanced. In a chapter of that work that relates to the origin of the English language, he seems to insist, if I apprehend his meaning aright, that the English tongue was radically formed of Celtick or British materials, and derived little or no assistance from the Teutonic. This is a doctrine as new as it is strange, and seems to require more arguments in support of it than he has been pleased to give us. And yet he is so warm and determined in the certainty of this position, that he treats all others, that may unfortunately have adopted a different system, as rash and presumptuous, and destitute of every knowledge of antiquity. "With a rashness," says he, "that is highly condemnable, they have presumed to speak of what they knew themselves not to understand, and to pronounce decisively of a subject of which they were conscious that they had obtained no information. Hence," concludes

cludes he, "the English has been affirmed to be genuine and " unmixed Teutonick, though the traces and lineaments of the " Celtick are plainly impressed upon the front of it." Notwithstanding these intimidating insinuations, I shall venture to continue in the sentiments I always entertained upon this subject, and which the Society was apprized of by a paper that some time ago I had the honour to communicate to them, and still must assert, that the English language is purely Teutonick, radically derived from the Gothick and Saxon, the universal parents of most of the Northern European tongues.

As all conjectural reasoning must be vague and undercive upon this subject, the most solid and rational mode of determining the question will be to have recourse to matter of fact. For this purpose I shall take a part of a chapter in Ulphilas's Gothick version of the gospel, a work executed above fourteen hundred years ago, and confront it with the same chapter of our present translation, and I believe, Sir, you will be amazed at the striking affinity between the two languages, notwithstanding the different mediums through which they have descended, and the many ages that have elapsed since they have been separated. I shall make use of the tenth chapter of St. John, though any other would equally answer the purpose.

THE original Gothick of the first verse is this:

AMEN Amen Qwitba izwis sa ni atgangith in thairb daur in garden Lambe, ak fleigith alathro sa ist bliftus. Now that you may have a clearer view of the connection I am endeavouring to proof, I will render this verse verbatim into the present English. *Amen Amen* verily verily *Qwitba* I say *izwis* to you *sa* he that *ni atgangith* in entereth not *thairb daur thro'* or by the door *ak* but *fleigith* climbeth up *alathro* some other way *sa* he *ist* is *bliftus* a thief. I will now separate the words from the context,

context, and, by an accurate examination of each particular one, I am convinced, that notwithstanding the variations of orthography and pronunciation which necessarily must be in the two tongues, it will appear very visibly that the one is the genuine production of the other. *Qwitha* I say. Those who recollect the old word *Quoth* will easily perceive that it is the imperfect tense of this verb *Qyithan* Dicere. *Izwois*, the Somerset dialect for you. What connection this *izwois*, to you, had with our ancient language, may be seen from this sentence of a letter written to K. Henry the Vth by the Earl of Salisbury: "We were afore diverse places, what time it liketh *zow* to sette on them, they be not able, to hold ajenst *zow* no while." In the same letter *your* is written *zour*, which is very little different from the Gothick *izwar* Vester. *Atgangith in*, this expression for entereth must be familiar to an English ear, especially to those who are conversant with the Northern speech. The peasants in Yorkshire, particularly in the West Riding, apply the verb to *gang* in general for to go. It was the common language of our ancient poets, and Johnson has inserted it in his dictionary as synonymous with to go, from which many nouns are apparently derived, as a gang signifying a number herding together, that go, metaphorically speaking, the same way; gangweek, rogation week, and the gangway in a ship. *Thairu daur* for thro' the door is too obvious a resemblance to take notice of. *In Gardan Lambe*. In the sheepfold. This is a compound word, the latter part of it, *Lambe*, requires no explication; the former, *Gardan*, may appear at first sight foreign to us, but it really is not so, but naturally inherent both in the Saxon and English languages. *Gard* in its primary signification denoted a house, as, *Ni fareith us garda in gard*, Go not from house to house; but was transferred from this original meaning to express an inclosure of any kind, *sepem vel munimentum claudens aliquid*; hence the Goths said, *Aurtigard*

hortus;

hortus; whence the Saxons had their *Ortgearde* and we our Orchard. And it is observable in this instance, that all the European tongues that have the least mixture of Gothism in them, have in general interpreted the Latin *Hortus* with words originating from this *Gard*: As French, *Jardin*; Italian, *Giardino*; Spanish, *Gardin*; German, *Gardo*; Danish, *Gaard*; Dutch, *Gaerde*; English, *Garden*. Another noun the Goths have formed in composition with *Gard* is *Weingard*, signifying an inclosure of vines, from which the Saxon and our vineyard is made. Perhaps it may not be impertinent in this place to advise the gentlemen who are engaged in the vineyard controversy, as some of their arguments seem drawn from the force and origin of the term vineyard and others relative to it, not to stop their enquiries at the Saxon, but to apply to the fountain's head, the Goths, for their information—*Antiquos accedere fontes*—They will there be supplied with not only *Weingard*, but also *Weintriu* a Vine, *Weinabafge* Grapes, *Weinatains* a Vinebranch, and others. We are told by the Hanoverian Knittel, who published a fragment of Gothic literature, lately found in that country, that Busbequius, who visited the lesser Tartary, the early residence of the Goths, found there an infinite number of words and phrases of Gothick birth, and among the rest this *Weingard*, pure and unadulterated. However to put an end to this term, if the supporters of the Celtick system deny the resemblance here, we are at liberty to introduce the Saxon *Sceape falde*, equally Teutonick, the root indisputably of our sheepfold. But I forgot to mention, that I am apprehensive the learned Mr. Barrington, in his answer to Mr. Pegge about the English vineyards, has made a mistake as to matter of fact. "There is great reason," says that gentleman, "to think that the Saxons had no term for a grape or the fruit of the vine; for that passage in St. Matthew, do men gather grapes of thorns? runs thus
" in

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"in the Saxon version, *cuitbes ut somingas of thornum uvas*.
 "It seems evident," concludes he, "that the translator had no
 "Saxon word for the fruit of the vine, otherwise he would not
 "have used the Latin term *uvas*." Now it unfortunately
 happens, that in the Saxon translation of the gospel that is now
 open before me, not the Latin but the Saxon noun is made use
 of in the above-mentioned place: *Cwyst thu gaderath man win-*
berian of thornum; where you will observe, that *winberian* is
 the Saxon word for grapes or the fruit of the vine*; and this
 term occurs repeatedly in the version of the Heptateuch. When
 Moses sent out the spies to examine the land of Canaan, we are
 told in our bible, that the time was the time of the first ripe
 grapes; and in the Saxon translation *bit was tha tima that win-*
berian ripodon. This word *winberian* or grapes seems to be
 perfectly agreeable to the genius of the language, for berries in
 compound express the fruit of many of our trees and shrubs in
 our present speech, as mulberries, raspberries, strawberries, black-
 berries, gooseberries; and in Yorkshire where more genuine Saxon
 is retained than in any other part of England, they in general
 say currantberries. *Steigeth* climbeth up, may also with some
 attention be traced in our language. Johnson has the verb
 to *fly*, which he interprets to soar or ascend; hence the sub-
 stantive *Stile* explained as a set of steps to pass from one in-
 closure to another; and in the North of England, the common
 appellation for a ladder, among the lower sort of people is, a
Stee; all derivative from the Gothick *Steigan*.

ALOTHE. We can discern our *other* in this word.

Ist bliftas, is a thief. However unconnected with the English

* The passage however is accurately referred to, and to be found, in Dr.
 Hickes's Anglo-Saxon grammar, p. 92, where *uvas* is used for *grapes*, though the
 word may be rendered *winberian* in the printed version of the Anglo-Saxon gospel,
 which is not cited in the Archaeologia, vol. III. p. 89.

bliftus may appear, yet an accurate observer may find it lurking in a compound. Shoplifting, a practice pretty prevalent in this town, is undoubtedly deducible from it; and I remember that a very sensible gentleman, who had been some time in Scotland, informed me, that he heard a man arraigned in a court of justice in that kingdom for the crime of Cowlifting, which he found upon the trial to mean the stealing of a cow.

I MUST beg leave to take notice, that the Gothick *Hliftus* is the Greek *Κληψ*, the aspirate being assumed instead of the *K*. This analogy is observable in our modern English, as *Hollow* is made from *Κοιλος*, and *Hede* for *Κηδος*, and we have many other instances of the same nature. The resemblance indeed between the Gothick and the Greek is so striking and remarkable, that many learned men have judged them to be only different dialects of the same radical tongue. These are the sentiments of that great master of Northern literature Franciscus Junius; “*Linguam Gothicam*,” says he, “(ut quae solâ dialecto differat a Graeca vetere) ab eadem origine cum Graeca profluxisse judicabam.” And Dr. Hickes tells us, that “*Gothica lingua in multis locis Grecissat*.” To which opinion, I confess, I am much inclined to accede as it seems the only rational way to account for that variety of Greek idioms and terms that are so plentifully interspersed in our language.

BUT to proceed to the second verse:

Sa ingangands thairb daur, bairdeis ist lambe.

Sa he that *ingangand* entereth in *thairu daur* through or by the door *ist* is *bairdeis* the shepherd *lambe* of the sheep.

THE only word not noticed in the preceding verse is *bairdeis* which the Saxons call *Sceapa hyrde*, and we Shepherd. Perhaps it is unnecessary to inform you that *bairdeis* joined with some particular species of cattle, denotes the person that has the management of them in our present English, as Shepherd, Swineherd, Goatsherd, Neatherd.

THE third verse runs thus:

THAMM daurawards uslukith, jab tho lamba sibna is haufgand, jab tho lamba baitith bi namin.

THAMM To him *daurawards* the porter *unlukith* openeth, *jab* and *tho' lambe* the sheep *haufgand* hear *is sibna* his voice, *jab* and *baitith* he calleth *lambe* the sheep *binamin* by name.

THE first word that occurs here is *daurawards*, which being of the composite kind signifies *Ostiarus* or doorkeeper. The Saxons call him *Gatewearde*, but we have adopted a French term *Porter*. *Wards* is formed from the Gothick verb *Wardan Custodire*, which supplies us with many terms derivative from it; as To ward, a ward, warden of a college or Cinque ports, a warder of the tower, wardship, and many others. *Unlukith* openeth, certainly puts us in mind of unlocketh, from which it is derived. As for *haufgand*, *audiunt*, I shall not venture to deduce *to hear* from it, shall therefore take the Saxon *byrath* instead of it which is equally Teutonic. *Sibna* voice, from which the Saxons made *Stefne*, is at present quite obsolete, but some centuries ago it prevailed very general, as our old ballads will bear witness, which seem to have had no other word for voice than *Stevin*, and it was even used so low as Spencer. From *baitan*, *vocare* vel *appellare* we perceive our old English word *hight*, named or called. *Bi namin* and *by name* correspond so exactly, that one is amazed that the space of fourteen hundred years should make so small an alteration in a language.

THE fourth verse is this:

FAURA im gangith jab tho lamba ina laifgand, unte kunnun sibna is. Gangith He goeth *faura im* before them *jab* and *tho lamba* the sheep *laifgand* follow *ina* him, *unte* for *kunnun* they know *is sibna* his voice. As to *laifgand* they follow,

follow, I must acknowledge, I can trace no vestige relative to it in our language. The Saxon, however, furnishes us with *fyliyeath* from whence our *follow*. *Kunnan*, *scire* appears in various instances as to *kenn*, to know, and many nouns dependent upon those verbs.

VERSE 5th. *Framathgana ni laistgand, ak fluband saura imma, unte ni kunnun framathgane flibna. Ni laistgand* They will not follow *framathgana* a stranger, *ak* but *fluband* will flee *saura imma* from or before him, *unte* for *ni kunnan* they know not *flibna* the voice *framathgana* of strangers. The first clause of this verse, it must be confessed, is perfectly unintelligible to an English ear, but the Saxon is not so; *Ne fyliyeath* they will not follow *uncuthum* the unknown or stranger. *Uncouth* is an English word, and in its primary acceptation signified unknown; the present use however has made it somewhat deviate from that sense. Milton has given it its original meaning, when Raphael gives Adam the reason why he was absent at the time of his creation.

For I that day was absent, as besel,
Bound on a voyage uncouth and obscure,
Far on excursion towards the gates of hell.

THE radix, however, of this word is discernable in the Gothic, for in a chapter or two beyond this we meet with *kuntha* I have known, and by prefixing the negative particle *un* which prevailed much among the Goths, as *unbairans*, barren, *unbarnas*, childless, we form the compound *unkuntha* Sax. *uncoutha*, Eng. *uncouth* and *unknown*.

BUT to go on with the next verse:

THAN *qwatb asira du im Jaisus, Amen Amen qwitha izwis, ibata ik am daur lambe. Tban* There *Jaisus* Jesus *qwatb* say'd

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du im to them *aftra* again or after, *Amen Amen* verily verily *quitha* I say, *izwis* to you, *thata* that *ik am* I am *daur* the door *lambe* of the sheep.

HERE is nothing not taken notice of, so shall proceed to the next:

ALLAI fwa magnagai fa quemun thiubos find, ak ni haufidedun im tho lamba. Allai fwa managai fwa All the many that *quemun* came *find* are *thiubos* thieves, *ak* but *tho lamba* the sheep *ni haufidenun* did not hear *im* them.

ALLAI, our all.

MANAGAI, the root of this word is *manag*, which by softening the *g* in the pronunciation, becomes the English *many*.

QWIMAN, *venire* Sax. *cuman*. Eng. To come.

THIUBS hence the Saxon *Theofa* and our *Thief*. We must remember that this word is synonymous with *bliftus*.

BUT to the next verse:

THIUBS The thief *ni qwimith* cometh not *nibai* but for *stilai* to steal *jab* and *snithai* to kill *jab* and *fravifigai* to destroy. *Ik kwam* I am come *ei* that *aigeina* they might have *libain* life.

NIBAI is not English, the Saxons have *butan* from whence our *but*, except.

STILAI, the dullest sight may perceive the origin of To *steal*.

SNITHA is the Saxon *Snidan* or *Snithan*, and the German *Sniden Scindere*; and we have yet a glimpse of it among us. Littleton in his dictionary mentions *Snitbe*, which he interprets *ventus pergelidus*, and which we may properly call a cutting wind: the accurate Ainsworth has copied it from him, but Johnson has taken no notice of it. The Saxon version makes use of *flea*, from which our *flay*.

FRAVISTGAI, no remains of this observable in English. The Saxon says *Fordo* to destroy. Our Shakespear uses it in the same sense.

Thus in Hamlet,

This is the very extasie of love,
Whose violent property fordoes itself.

LIBA, from which the Saxon *lif* and our life.

AIKAN, *habere*, a Gothick noun from this verb *Aihn*, is explained *peculiaris* & *propria possessio*; hence the English *own*.

THE succeeding verse is very remarkably English:

Ik am I am god bairdeis the good shepherd, *sa god bairdeis* the good shepherd *lagith* layeth down *saiwala* his life or soul *faura lamba* for the sheep.

I SHALL only observe, that Ulphilas has more accurately turned the Greek *τιθησι την ψυχην* by *lagith saiwala* than has been done by the English translators.

THE twelfth verse:

ASNEIS an hireling *saiquith* seeth *wulf* the wolf *qwimandan* coming, *jab* and *leitbith* leaveth *thaim lambam* the sheep, *jab* and *sliuth* fleeth.

IT is in vain that we hunt for any appearance of *asneis*, *mercenarius*, in our tongue. The Saxons adopt *byrelinge* for the same signification, and we *hireling*. *Leitbith* is easily melted down to *leaveth*, so is *sliuth* into *fleeth*. As to *wulf* it speaks for itself.

THE thirteenth:

Sa asneis the hireling *sliuth* fleeth *unte* because *ist* he is *asneis* an hireling, *jab* and *ni ist kar* there is no care *imma* to him *lambe* of the sheep.

Ni ist kar imma lambe is very intelligible indeed.

THE

THE fourteenth verse:

Ik im I am *goda hairdeis* the good shepherd *jab* and *kann* know *meina* mine, *jab* and *meina* mine *kunnon* know *mik* me.

THE fifteenth:

SWA as (so) *Atta* the father *kann* knoweth *mik* me, *jab* and *ik kann* I know *Attan* the father, *jab* and *laga* I lay down *meina fairwala* my life *faura tho lamba* for the sheep.

HERE is nothing to be particularly observed except the word *Attan* the father. From what source the Goths drew it the sharpest investigators of languages have not been able as yet to discover; for that people have neither communicated it to the Saxons or to any of their various descendents; however we must take notice, that though *Atta* is regularly made use of when a father solely is denoted, yet when parents are intended, Ulphilas's version always substitutes *fadrein*, the radix indisputably of the Saxon *fader* and our *father*.

To this specimen let me add, that every circumstance that constitutes the true genius of a language, is visibly derived to the English from the Goths and Saxons. The articles, flexion of the genitive case, prepositions, and auxiliary verbs are all absolutely Teutonic. If the Goths say *ik am*, *thou was*, *thou magaisst*, *thou maightes*, *thou skuldais*, *thou mostais*, *ik skal*; the English in the same mode of speaking repeat after them, *I am*, *thou was*, *thou mayst*, *thou mightst*, *thou shouldst*, *thou must*, *I shall*.

I HAVE now, Sir, finished what I had to say upon the comparison of the two languages the Gothick and the English, and, I think, a man must be little sagacious in distinguishing likenesses who does not discover that the one is the natural descendant of the other; their complexions, their manners, their features, are exactly similar, and I challenge the deepest enquirer into the Celtick to produce so decisive a proof of any affinity of that

tongue

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tongue with ours. The British, to speak plainly, has little or no resemblance to the English. Many of their terms may have gained admission among us, as from the vicinity and long intercourse we have had with that people may necessarily be imagined, but their idioms and genius are as radically and essentially different as any two languages can possibly be.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

W. DRAKE.

Festred, Dec. 1, 1775.

XXXII. *Observations arising from an Enquiry into the Nature of the Vases found on the Mosquito Shore in South America.* By Thomas Pownall, Esq. F.A.S.

Read February 5, 1778.

THERE is nothing more curious, at least in my opinion, in the history of the animal man, than to observe the various resources which he has, and the varied efforts that he makes, to supply the encreased extended demands of his advancing civilization. The first progress of his powers is the most rapid, and the wisest, as founded in use and reason. But after the purposes of real use are answered, and he finds himself at ease, imagination and caprice take the lead in his devices. Having got above the necessity of attending to bare uses, every thing that is absurd and deformed comes into model; the more deformed it is, and the more deviating from nature, common sense, and plain use, the more it strikes him as ingenious, and having the merit of invention. Such are the barbarous and grotesque models of all nations and people in this second stage of their advancing civilization. This principle of conceited imagination operates through all uniformly under the like circumstances in thus deviating from reason founded on use, and in thus deforming nature. The reader's own recollection of a
thousand

Fig. 3.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



thousand instances in every region of the globe will recur to the proof of this by fact. I will quote only one which is more particularly connected with the subject of this paper.

FATHER d'Acuña, in the account which he gives of his voyage (the first that was made down the river of Amazons in 1639,) speaking of the ingenuity of the Zurinaes, a nation of Indians dwelling on the banks of that river, says, they make very curious *chairs in the form of animals with great ingenuity of invention.*

MAN, in the further advances of his civilization begins, *sed longo intervallo*, to recur back in his refinement to design, drawn from original, and leading to real use. Taste then, which leads to beauty, takes the direction, and extends to the utmost bounds of the efforts of human genius.

THIS description of the powers and operation of man might be traced as a truth in fact through all the arts of life, from the first rude efforts of the savage, founded in common sense, through all the wildness of deviating conceit to the sublimest exertion of the human genius in every thing, by which man is cloathed, fed, or lodged.

I SHALL confine myself to the particular line of exhibition, which the annexed drawings afford*. They are minutely exact portraits (drawn by a scale of one to four) of two vessels which came from the Mosquito shore.

MR. Brander has a vase of the same kind, here exhibited fig. 3.

THERE is another of these vases in the British Museum†.

* Plate XXVI. fig. 1. 2.

† In shewing this, they say it came from *Assica*, mistaking it for Mosquito. It was amongst the collections of Sir Hans Sloane. Jamaica, where he resided, has constant communication and intercourse both of trade and government with the Mosquito shore; but there are no returns from Mexico to Jamaica.

I HAD heard of these vases (of which I have made, and herewith send the drawings), before I saw them, that they were *Egyptian* or *Phoenician*, although found on that coast. By the obliging civility of Lord Fairford, and by the very ready assistance of the porter, I found them buried under a heap of lumber in a back house of Lord Hillsborough's. They were sent from the Mosquito shore, and presented to that nobleman as being not only (as I think they are) curious exemplars of some of the first efforts of human ingenuity, but also as remains of what were become antiquities even amongst the Indians. For the Indians (through the introduction of more convenient utensils, brought to them by the Europeans) have wholly neglected and lost the art of making these. I have asked Lord Hillsborough whether he could ascertain the fact that the vessels in his possession came from the Mosquito shore; he assured me that they were brought to him directly from thence. It is a decided fact, that they were made on that coast and country; for a gentleman, the president of the settlements made there by the European traders, saw one of these on the island Guanaja or Guanagua, not finished, and as yet not detached from the quarry out of which it was formed. I applied to that ingenious, and I may add, learned artist Mr. Bentley, to decide for me as I am unacquainted with these matters, what the substance or composition (if it was composition) of these vessels was. He immediately, on a trial with *aqua fortis*, convinced me, that the substance was neither composition nor any lime-stone, but a real granite.

My search next went to enquire if there were any accounts that could explain how it was possible for the Indians, unassisted by art, or by those instruments of metal by which art acts, to work these forms in so exceeding hard a substance. I

met

met with oral accounts, and recollect having read somewhere, of instruments of copper found amongst these people. But, in the first place, I did not find myself satisfied as to the fact; and if I had, I was still less satisfied in supposing, that these Indians knew any mode of tempering this supposed copper, or whatever other metal it might be, to a degree of hardness capable of working this granite. Having myself seen, and been acquainted with, instances of the enduring, unabated patience of Indian industry, in works of manufacture, I finally resolved the explanation into this their temper and ingenuity. Any one who has seen or heard how the Indians used (before it was made for them by European workmen) to make their wampum and other shell ornaments and utensils; how their patience endured in piercing and boring these with a bit of stick and a little sand; will find no difficulty in satisfying himself, how, by a patience which none but an Indian will persevere in, these vessels, by a labour continued for a whole life, may be wrought by friction and grinding, without recurring to the supposition of any instruments of metal. Such were in Asia in ancient times, referred to by Homer, the bowls and other utensils of their days; the making of which, with their succession in families, or passing from one family to another, was an event of importance enough to bear a part in their traditional records.

I NEXT considered the form and design of these vases in the line of reasoning, which I have used at the beginning of this paper.

UPON the first view of them, I saw that the groundless superficial conceit of their being Egyptian or Phoenician, was contradicted on the face, both by theory and fact.

THE dressing the flesh or entrails of any animal which hath a shell is one of the first rude efforts of the savage in the woods.

We in our refinements of luxury do the same at this day by the scallop oyster and turtle. The ancient Scythians * used to dress the flesh and entrails of the animals which they ate in the paunch. The modern Scythians retain the same custom to this day. The *Haggies* is that very dish (if I may so call it) and a very good dish it is. The highest refinement of art cannot invent more exquisite forms for these purposes than what a scientific copying of the scollop or turtle-shell give. In like manner, whenever instead of the paunch, refinement shall invent a vessel, in which to serve up the Haggies, it will certainly resemble in its model the original prototype, whether it be formed into a turrene or a silver vase, having the finged head as ornamented handles to the sides.

THESE Mosquito-shore vases are, as I conceive, the produce of that middle stage of civilization which has just left nature, and not arrived at taste in art. The design of these vessels is to copy nature, but copies it under all the deviations of conceited vague imagination. The one of these designs seems to follow the form of the land tortoise, the other of the marine one. The head of the larger one is broken, as I have marked by the drawing, but is plainly the head of the marine tortoise or turtle. There is originality in the conception of the design; but caprice and conceit hath despised the plain end of use, which the shell affords, and hath besfooled itself in a model which is to represent the whole animal, as if the animal in its compleat organization could be supposed to have that use.

THERE is something particular in the forms and ornaments of some of the parts, which puzzles all conjecture. There seems to be a servile copying of some pre-settled prototype without any

* Vide Herodot. Melpomene, or Lib. iv.

reference had to the use of that part thus adopted and copied. When I see a stone vessel formed with parts that import to be hoops, such as are necessary to bind together a vessel formed of staves, but totally absurd and useless here, and more especially, incongruous to the idea of the model representing an animal: when I consider the manner in which these parts are ornamented (especially that of Mr. Brander, which hath the exact Vitruvian scroll upon it) by a lineal ectype of an ornament established by the nations of the old world; I am puzzled beyond all conjecture, sit down at my wit's end, and am willing to suppose, that the original vases had not these heterogeneous parts and ornaments, but that the Indians in later times having seen some Spanish vessels compacted by hoops of this sort, and ornamented with these kind of scrolls, did, in the true folly and caprice of following a fashion, servilely copy these parts, and add them to their models, without reference to either use or meaning in them, and directly contrary to, and destructive of, the idea of their designs. I am in possession of an old china vessel, which gives this case in point, and justifies my conjecture. It is clearly copied in every the minutest part, from an European monteth, which was bound with hoops, and had rings hanging from a lion's mouth at each end. Each individual part is copied in this porcelaine vase, without either use, or even reference to any idea of use, in a vessel of such composition; and what is more particular, the parts representing hoops are ornamented with scrolls like those of the vessels which I have portraied.

THESE vases are very curious exemplars which have reference to a state of the people in those parts that suggest a thousand ideas. The conjectures above are such as amused me in considering

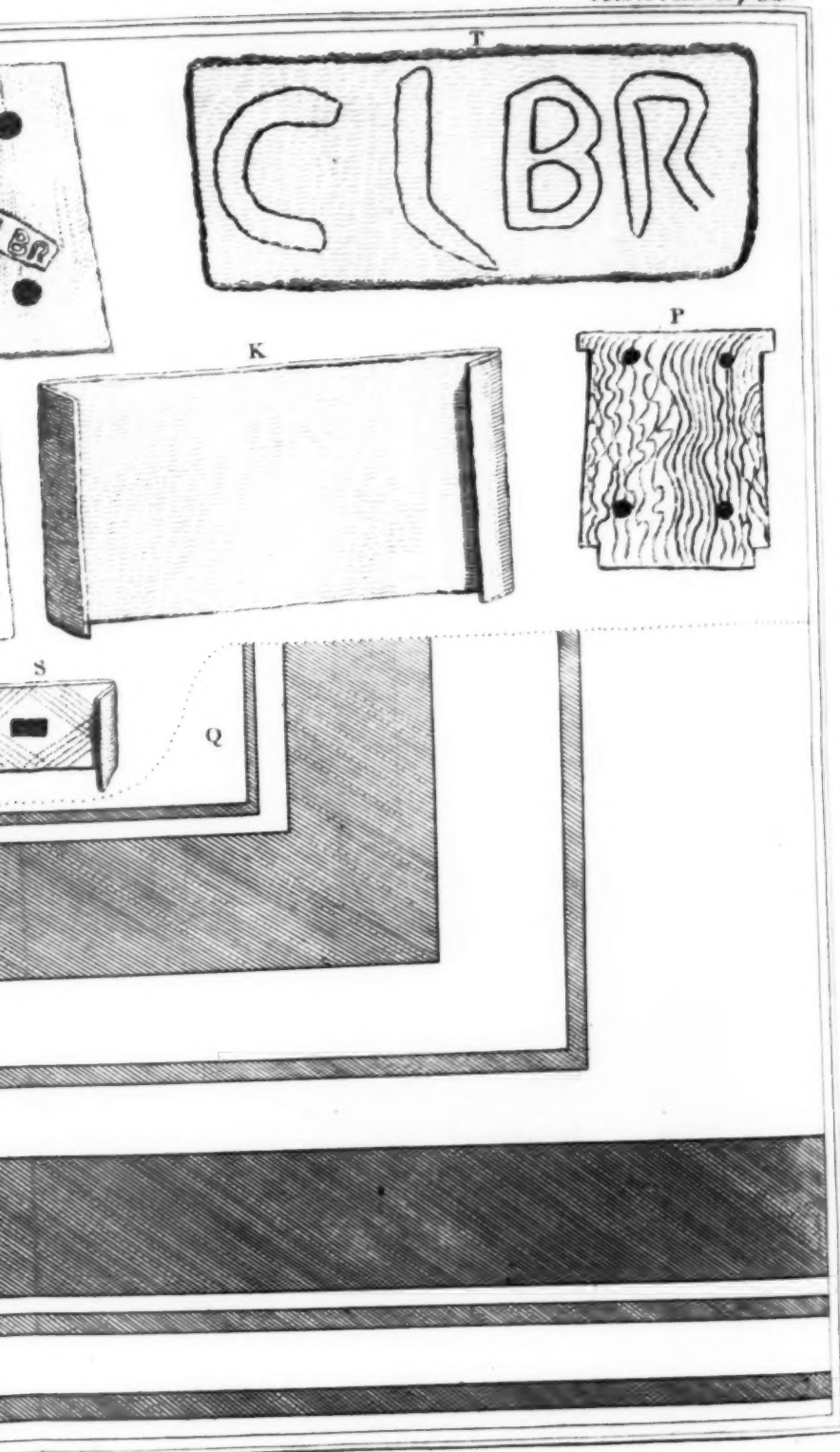
considering the matter: if they may be of any amusement to the Society of Antiquaries, they are humbly submitted

By their humble Servant,

T. POWNALL.

Richmond, Dec. 15, 1777.

P. S. I had forgot to mention, that high up the Black river, on this coast, have been discovered, the remains of ancient potteries. Father d'Acuina mentions, that some of the Indians on the river of Amazons, had carried that manufactory to a great extent so as even to establish a traffic with their neighbours for this ware. Do not these vestigia of things existing point out that there have been which have again fallen back to savageness and oblivion, advances in the state of man to arts and civilization of which no history can have the least traces?



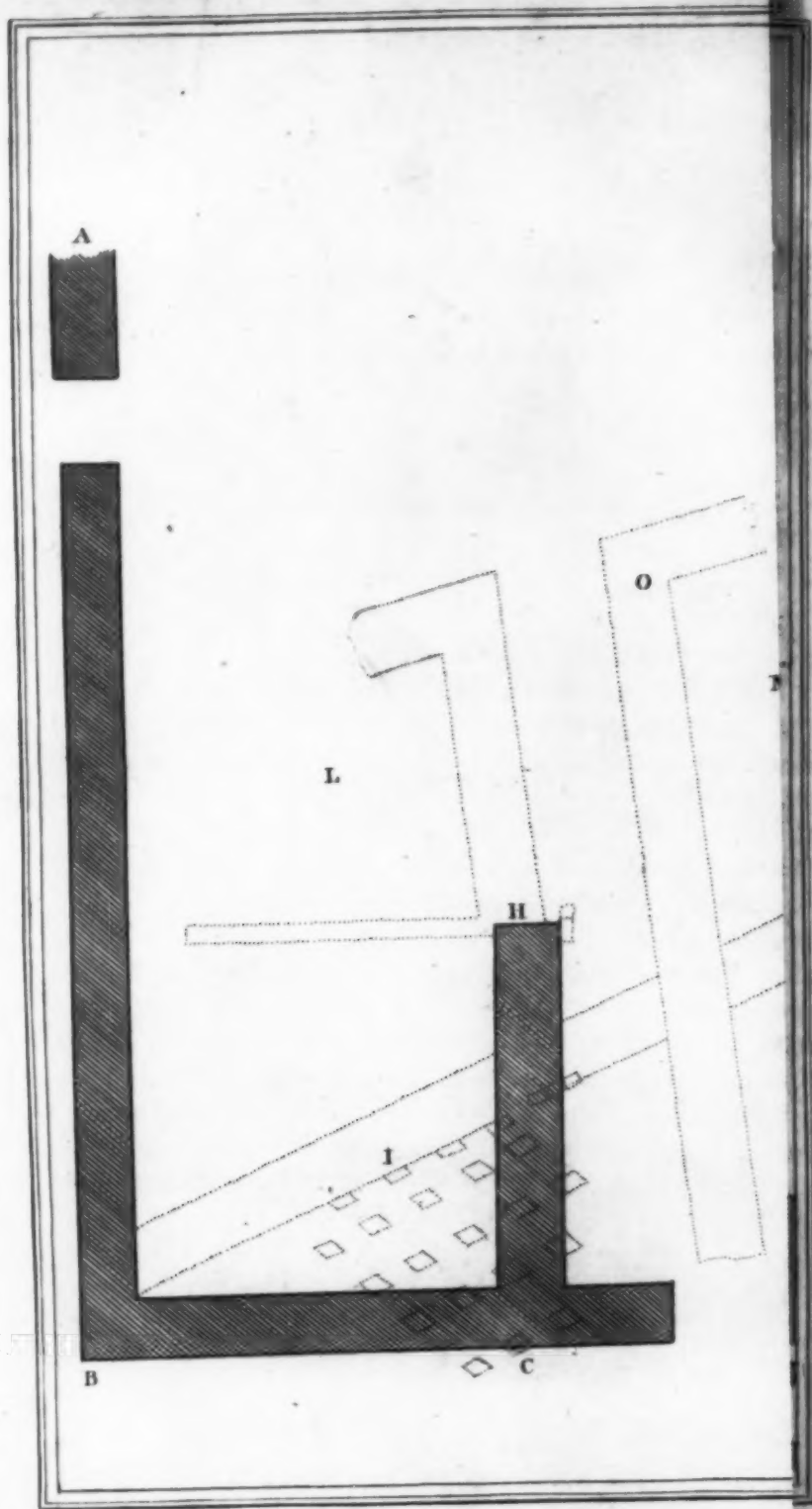
XXXIII. *Description of a Roman
Dover. In a Letter to Daniel
and A. S. By the Rev. Mr. Ly*

Read February 26, 17

S I R,

WHEN I had the pleasure of meeting you, our conversation turned upon the form of the ruins of the ancients, the nature of the cement, and the materials made use of by them in their different structures, and their baths. I mentioned that soon after my return I discovered the remains of a Roman structure, the site of the parish church of St. Mary the Virgin, which have since repeatedly been laid open for examination. You requested me to give you an account of every part of this fabric, with my conjectures how it was built, and for what use I conceived it to be designed. I fit down to comply with your request, but as just an idea as I can of this ancient piece of architecture. In a minute description of its several parts, I have marked where A, B, C, D, E, F, represent the

* Plate XXVII.



XXXIII. *Description of a Roman Bath, discovered at Dover. In a Letter to Daniel Minet, Esq. F. R. and A. S. By the Rev. Mr. Lyon.*

Read February 26, 1778.

SIR,

WHEN I had the pleasure of meeting you last, our conversation turned upon the form of the buildings of the ancients, the nature of the cement, and the variety of materials made use of by them in their different structures, particularly in their baths. I mentioned that soon after I came to this town, I discovered the remains of a Roman structure at the West end of the parish church of St. Mary the Virgin; which remains have since repeatedly been laid open for the purposes of interment. You requested me to give you an accurate description of every part of this fabric, with my conjectures at what era it was built, and for what use I conceived it was intended: I now sit down to comply with your request, but that I may give you as just an idea as I can of this ancient piece of masonry, by a minute description of its several parts, I have annexed a drawing*, where A, B, C, D, E, F, represent the ichnography of the

* Plate XXVII.

West

326 *Description of a Roman Bath, discovered at Dover.*

West end of the church. The letters C D, D E, and C H, show the foundation of the tower. The side H E, is supported by an arch. The dotted lines represent as much of the ground plan of the Roman building as I have seen and examined myself. The walls of this ancient structure are from two feet ten inches to three feet thick. The first course of stone is laid in a deep bed of fine clay. It is evident on a bare inspection of this imperfect plan, that there were four rooms at least on the same floor, with a passage between two of them, and I apprehend these apartments were originally designed for sweating and bathing.

NOTHING, says Montfaucon [a], better expresses the form of the great baths of the Romans, than a piece of painting in the *Thermae of Titus*: there is the Hypocaustum, the Balneum, the Concamerata Sudatio, the Tepidarium, and the Frigidarium. I will follow this arrangement and begin with the Hypocaustum.

THIS was a subterranean furnace, where the fire was made to warm the room above, and likewise to heat the water for the hot baths to any degree of heat they pleased. This place was curiously and advantageously contrived to diffuse a general and equal heat in every part of the Sudatorium.

THE small dotted quarries, or lozenges, represent pilasters erected about 20 inches high, with tiles 9 inches square, two one inch thick, laid with a fine clay [b]. They were placed in rows about 15 inches apart, to give the fire a free circulation, as well as to support the floor of the room. Upon the heads of these small columns were laid a course of tiles near two inches thick, one foot ten inches long, and cross the middle

[a] *Antiq.* vol. III. p. 129.

[b] See the ground plan under the foundation of the tower.

16 inches wide, marked I. They were made with a fine earth, much better than the common sort of tiles, and were of a beautiful red colour. Upon this course of tiles was spread a very strong cement four inches thick, mingled with pieces of bruised bricks which gave it a red hue.

UNDER the foundation of the tower is a row of funnel bricks, (I. I.) whose tops were placed level with the floor of the room above. They were fixed together with four cramps, and had holes in their sides opposite to each other to convey the heat from place to place. The pillars and floor of this subterraneous place were covered with ashes, wood-coal, and soot.

BEFORE I proceed to the other apartments, it will be necessary to give you a description of the wall marked I, as the tiles in it were of a different form from any I ever saw. About 20 inches above the floor of the Sudatorium, or sweating-room, were laid a course of tiles in a bed of mortar, of a yellow hue, and as hard as Purbeck stone (K.) The tiles were made exactly the width of the wall, and folded down on each side of it, which rendered it impossible for them either to slip or move from the place where they were first laid. Upon this course of tiles were placed in the wall a row of funnel bricks, which formed a communication with those already mentioned in the Hypocaustum, and by this means the heat circulated quite round the Concamerata Sudatio. The size of this apartment has not been traced.

THE room adjoining the Sudatorium, and marked L, I call the Balneum, or room for bathing. I have seen in the ruins, dug up in this apartment, several ducts in the floor which appeared to have been designed for the conveyance of water. The floor of this room was paved with tiles of a yellow colour. One side measures 25 feet, and if the part of the wall marked fig. 6. is the other extreme, it was 40 feet long.

THE remains of the apartment marked M, I name the Tepidarium; it was a room so tempered with heat, that it was, when used, neither hot nor cold. This was joined to the Frigidarium, and was, as some think, the same with Tully's Apodyterium. I call this the Tepidarium, because I found in the angle a row of funnel bricks placed in an oblique direction, and extending from the bottom to the top of the ruins. These seem to have been designed for the conveyance of smoke or heat, and probably of both. One side of this room measures 25 feet, the dimensions of the other side have not been traced.

THE apartment marked N, I apprehend, was the Frigidarium, the room where they stripped and rubbed.

THE passage was five feet wide, and the floor was laid with the red cement, and the walls marked O were plaistered with the same sort of mortar. In the wall on the right, was laid a course of tiles of a peculiar make [c]. They are 19 inches long, and cross the middle about 13 inches wide. They were laid in a thick bed of mortar with their ends reversed, and they locked so closely together as to form a compact and lasting piece of work. You may satisfy your curiosity with the sight of one of them at the British Museum.

THIS wall on the side of the passage was plaistered with a white cement which was laid on very thick. It was also ornamented with paint, and a fragment of it has escaped both the violence of the mattock and the destructive hand of time. Whether these stripes [d] were designed for the margin of a

[c] See P. The curved lines represent waving furrows on the surface to make the mortar adhere more firmly to the tile.

[d] See Q. The stripes were twice the dimensions of the drawing, and the colour a little more upon the brown.

picture, or whether the side of the passage was ornamented with squares of different dimensions, it is now impossible to say.

THE figures R and S are different kinds of materials dug up, but their uses were not discovered, nor can it be said with certainty to what part they belonged. The ruins which I have now described, appear to answer the plan of the painting in the *Thermae of Titus*, but even on this there is some dispute. There are many who add a *Lyconicum* to the Roman baths, upon the authority of Vitruvius, who says, *Lyconicum Sudationesque sunt conjugendae Tepidario*. Some say the *Lyconicum* is a separate apartment, others that it was the same with the *Tepidarium*. Was I to offer a conjecture it should be that the *Lyconicum* was a furnace under the *Tepidarium*, as the *Hypocaustum* was under the *Sudatorium*, for the funnel bricks fixed in the angle, as mentioned before, show there was heat conveyed either in the walls, or under the floor of the *Tepidarium*.

N.B. The funnel bricks in this apartment were not near so thick as those in the *Hypocaustum*; probably they were not intended to convey so intense a degree of heat.

I SHALL give you an account of the use made of these rooms in the words of Montfaucon [e].

FIRST they entered the *Frigidarium* where they undressed: then the *Tepidarium* where they staid some time before they passed into the *Sudatorium*, or sweating-room: from this apartment they went to the hot baths, from whence, after some time, they returned to the sweating-room again, then to the *Tepidarium*, and some time after to the *Frigidarium*; but as all those who went to bathe were not disposed to go into the *Sudatorium*, for the conveniency of such, there were baths in the *Tepidarium* for those who liked the cold baths.

[e] *Antiq.* vol. III. p. 129.

ON the tile marked T are four letters, which you will find at the side of it, of the form and size of the originals. I read them as follows: C. I. BR.

Cobors prima Britannica.

THE Legio secunda, called also Legio Augusta, and Legio Britannica [f], was raised by Augustus, and sent from Germany into Britain under the conduct of Vespasian, anno 43. It continued in this island till the final departure of the Romans, and by the length of time it remained here, it acquired the name of Britannica, or the British Legion. It had a principal share in all the great works and heroic actions performed by the Romans in this kingdom [g]. The head quarters of this Legion was at Isca Silurum, and Caer Leon [h], the far greatest part of the time it continued in Britain. In the reign of Valentinian the first [i], this Legion was sent by Theodosius, the father of Theodosius surnamed the Great, to Rutupiae in Kent. We read in the Notitia of the Western empire [k], *Praepositus Legionis secundae Aug. Rutupis*. This remove must have happened between the years of Christ 364 and 367 [l], as these were the limits of Valentinian's reign. About this time the Saxons first began to infest and plunder the inhabitants on the sea coasts of Great Britain, and probably this Legion was removed to guard the frontier towns of Kent and Suffex against these Northern pirates. If the whole Legion had been stationed at Rutupiae, it could:

[f] Antient Univ. Hist. vol. XIX. p. 86.

[g] Notitia, c. 38.

[h] Henry's Hist. of England, vol. I. p. 56.

[i] See Richard of Cirencester's Itinerary, p. 20; and Univ. Hist. vol. XIX. p. 86.

[k] C. 52.

[l] Blair's Chronology.

not have defended the coast; it was therefore divided into several cohorts, and probably one cohort at least was stationed at each of those towns which have since been called the Cinque Ports.

It appears by the inscription on the tile marked A, that the first cohort was stationed at Dover. This place might therefore be considered as the head quarters of the Legion, as the residence of their commander; and on that account peculiarly proper for the establishment of a public work of this sort for their common use. As this account corresponds with the transactions of the Romans in this island, I shall date the foundation of these ruins in the fourth century, not long after the period when the Britannic Legion was fixed in Kent and on the sea coast. On this supposition the fabric appears to have been of great antiquity. Time, however, hath had but little effect upon it, for the few remains which I have seen were so strongly united, that it required much labour and strength to separate them from each other.

As I am upon the subject of Roman buildings, I will quit the baths, and take a view of the venerable octagon tower in the castle, which is by some supposed the work of Julius Caesar, and by others to have been erected at a subsequent period, either for the purpose of a pharos or light-house, or as a place where the Romans were stationed for the receipt of tribute or custom. Stukeley has given a particular description of this building, but he had no opportunity of comparing the workmanship with the ruins I have described.

I FIND upon a close examination, that some of the tiles used in both these buildings, were of the same form, though not cast in the same mould. As the walls of the Pharos are much thicker, so are the tiles much larger than those which were used
in.

in the bath. The first course of stone of both buildings, is laid in a deep bed of fine clay; a method the Romans generally pursued in laying the foundation of their walls.

THERE is not a doubt but Dover castle was first begun by the Romans, but it has since been enlarged and improved by the Saxons and Normans at different periods of time. The building of the castle is generally ascribed to Julius Caesar; but those who are acquainted with his expeditions are satisfied that he had no time to undertake such a work: we must therefore look for the founder of this castle in an Emperor of later date. Near an hundred years elapsed from the first invasion by Julius Caesar, before the Romans paid any considerable attention to this island, and we are told that Augustus in particular pursued this conduct for reasons of state[m].

CALIGULA meditated an invasion of Britain in person; but he left the task for Claudius to accomplish, which he did in the second year of his reign. The first governor of Consular quality under Claudius was Aulus Plautius, then Ostorius Scapula; both these commanders were of known eminence, and experience in war. They reduced, by degrees, the nearest part of Britain into the form of a province, and to secure it they fixed a colony of Veterans[n]. As this was the first or nearest part of Britain to the continent, the colony could not be settled far from the sea coast. When Caesar left the continent for the purpose of invading Britain, we may reasonably suppose that he made every enquiry in his power at what place would be most proper for

[m] Consilium id divus Augustus vocabat. Tacitus Vit. Agric. p. 644. Amst. ex offic. Jansson. 1643.

[n] Consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius, redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae addita insuper veteranorum colonia. Tacitus ibid.

him to make good his landing. It appears by his commentaries, that he first attempted it at Dover, but without success, on account of the opposition he met with from the Britons, who annoyed his men with their arrows from the hills [e]. It is not probable that his successor should neglect to take possession of a place which he had judged so proper for the debarkation of his troops, and which, from the nearness of its situation to the coast of Gaul, seemed necessary for them to secure to their own use.

We are told by an ingenious antiquary [p], that Camalodunum, or Colchester, was the first Roman colony in Britain, and that Claudius and his successor's legates fixed several others in different parts of this island. It is not my design to enquire where the first colony was settled, but to trace as near as I can, when the castle or that part of it which is of Roman construction, was built.

DIDIVS Gallus, in the year of Christ 53, succeeded to the government of Britain. He did little more than keep what his predecessors had gained. He built a few castles a little farther in the country, merely to say he had extended his bounds. From this transaction we may reasonably conclude, that both Aulus Plautius and Ostorius Scapula had previously erected forts and castles on the sea coast to make good a landing-place to secure a retreat. If we admit this conjecture, we may date the foundation of this weather-beaten structure between the years of Christ 42 and 49.

[e] Caes. B. G. iv. c. 23.

Cujus loci haec erat natura, adeo montibus angustis mare continebatur, uti ex locis superioribus in litus telum adjici posset.

Dr. Halley in Phil. Trans. N^o 193, from these foregoing words of Caesar, judged that by the description of the hills they were those of Dover.

[p] Whitaker's Hist. of Manchester, vol. I. p. 326, 8vo.

334 *Description of a Roman Bath, discovered at Dover.*

I HAVE now discharged my promise, and I wish this account may afford you as much satisfaction to read as the ruins described have given me pleasure to inspect.

I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

JOHN LYON.

Dover, 1st Feb. 1778.

XXXIV. *The Episcopal Coins of Durham, and the Monastic Coins of Reading, minted during the Reigns of Edward I. II. and III. appropriated to their respective Owners.* By Benjamin Bartlet, F. A. S.

Read March 5, 1778.

WE find amongst the coins minted at Durham, during the reigns of the three first Edwards, several pennies bearing particular marks in some one or other part of the coin: one has a cross moline at the beginning of the legend on each side of the piece; a second has the same cross in the second quarter of the reverse; a third has it at the beginning of the legend on the obverse only; another has a lion rampant betwixt two fleurs de lis in the same place. Some of these being placed where in succeeding reigns the mint mark stood, have been taken notice of by two writers on these subjects, but no reasons assigned for their use. There are also from the same mint two others, which have the upright limb of the cross turned in the form of a pastoral staff, one of them to the right, the other to the left; they are said to have come from the bishops mint, but the prelates name are not mentioned.

WE are informed by the learned Mr. Pegge^[a], that the bishops of Durham coined money after the Conquest (though none has yet come to our knowledge); but that they, as well

[a] Assemblage of Prelatical Coins, p. 84.

as the rest of the sees, lost their privilege at the accession of Henry II, 1154, but had it renewed to them by Richard I. "Eodem anno Ricardus Rex Angliae dedit Philippo Dunelmensi electo, licentiam fabricandi monetam in civitate sua Dunelmensi quod predecessores suis a multo tempore retro non erat permissum [b]." However we do not find any money minted by this bishop or his successors, till the times of Edward I; in the eleventh year of whose reign Anthony Beck was appointed to the see of Durham. We are told that he was the most opulent prelate that ever filled that chair, and perhaps as ambitious; for, having obtained the patriarchate of Jerusalem from the Pope, he procured the government of the Isle of Man from the King. Conscious of these honours and of his palatinate rights, he appears on his episcopal seal with a large cross moline embroidered on his upper robe, in the style of the temporal barons of those days [c]. He also placed the same cross, his family arms, on the left side of the chair on the same seal [d]. To this prelate I ascribe those three pennies marked with the cross moline; one as before mentioned has the cross on both sides; another has it in the second quarter on the postic. of the coin: both these have the king's name EDW. and on the reverse CIVITAS DVREME; the third of these pennies reads EDWAR. & DVREME, and has the cross on the obverse only; this last, I suppose, amongst the early coinages of Edward II, in the third year of whose reign bishop Beck died, and was succeeded in the episcopal chair by Richard Kellow 1310, who being promoted most probably for his merits or services, and having no pretensions to family arms, placed, by way of distinction, the

[b] Hoveden quoted by Mr. Pegge.

[c] Gules a cross moline arg.

[d] The seal above mentioned was first engraved from an original by Dr. Rawlinson 1725.

head of a pastoral staff turned to the right on the upright limb of the cross. These pennies read EDWAR. and on the reverse CIVITAS DVNELM. He died the 9th of Edw. II, 1317, and Lodowic Beaumont, nearly allied to the royal family of France, was appointed his successor. It is said this prelate was so illiterate that he could not read his consecration bull, his rank therefore must have been his best advocate; and on his coins we find a lion rampant placed at the beginning of the legend on the obverse, sometimes accompanied with two, sometimes with one fleur de lis [*e*], and sometimes the lion alone; these coins read EDWAR. & CIVITAS DVNELM. He died suddenly Sept. 10, 1333, 7th Edw. III, and to him succeeded Richard Bury, and in 1345, 19th Edw. III, Thomas Hatfield. He like bishop Kellow placed the head of a pastoral staff, but turned to the right, on the cross of his coins; these read EDWARDVS, and on the reverse CIVITAS DVREME; the head and weight fix them to the third Edward and to his third coinage 1353, when the weight of the penny was reduced to 18 grains.

THE learned Dr. Sharp, archbishop of York, in his manuscript [*f*] account of English coins, proposes to distinguish the moneys of Edward the First and Second by the different manner in which their names are written, and gives those pieces inscribed Edw. to the father, and those with *Edwa.* *Edwar.* and *Edward* to the son. Here we find bishop Beck, who lived at the great coinage in Edward the First's days, has two pennies with *Edw.* and as he also lived near three years in the reign of Edward the Second, has one with *Edwar.* and his successors Kellow and Beaumont, who both lived in the same reign, have

[*e*] He bore, Azure semy of fleurs de lis, a lion rampant Or.

[*f*] Since printed.

theirs with *Edwar.* may we not with some degree of certainty allow the archbishop's suggestion to be just?

DURING this period we meet with a penny which has been twice engraved [g], and read on the reverse HADINE, a place supposed to have been in Scotland, and that in the second quarter there was a thistle. This penny, which reads EDW. and consequently belongs to the first Edward, was coined at Reading by the abbot [h], the legend on the reverse is VILLA RADINGY, and in the second quarter an escalop shell, part of the arms of the monastery [i]. In the twelfth year of Edward the Third, we find a grant to the abbot and monks of Reading; to coin halfpennies and farthings, with (as formerly) pennies: "Dilectis nobis in Christo Abbati et Monachis de Radyng quod ipsi et successores in perpetuum habeant unum monetarium et unum cuneum tam ad Obolos et Ferlingos quam ad Sterlingos prout moris est fabricandum;" and also the privilege of preparing the inscription: "De Impressione et Circumscriptione quas dictus Abbas vobis declarabit sumptibus ipsius Abbatis [k]." In consequence of this grant which bishop Nicholson has given us at large in his chapter on English coins, the abbot, whose predecessor had coined pennies, now struck halfpennies, some few of which have come to light since the publication of the supplement to the late learned Mr. Folkes' tables of English coins by this Society.

THE halfpenny reads EDWARDVS, and on the reverse as the penny, VILLA RADINGY, and has the escalop in the second quarter of the cross [l].

[g] Tables of English coins by the Society of Antiquaries, plate III. N° 2. Snelling's view, pl. I. N° 7.

[h] Robert de Burghare who resigned 1287.

[i] The arms of the abbey of Reading were Azure three escalops Or.

[k] John Appleford 1327.

[l] See tables of English coins by the Society of Antiquaries, Supplement part II. pl. I. where these coins are engraved.

SOME

SOME authors have said that the episcopal and monastic mints in the time here mentioned were restrained from coining any other pieces than pennies. It does not indeed appear that any have come to light except these halfpennies; and if I understand the warrant to this monastery it certainly must have been so. The abbot coined pennies in the first Edward's days, and here he says, "tam Obolos et Ferlingos, quam Sterlingos prout moris est fabricandum."

v. 339



Beauvais



Abby of Reading

XXXV. *Some Observations on the Horns given by Henry I. to the Cathedral of Carlisle. By the Rev. Mr. Cole, F. A. S. In a Letter to the President.*

Read April 2, 1778.

REVEREND SIR,

THIS curious and perfect Roman fibula, which I have the honour to send to you by my friend Mr. Lort for your inspection, was found at no great distance from Rome, about the year 1770, at a place called Rocca Priore, between Fiescati and Palestrina, by a peasant, who sold it, together with some coins, to my friend Mr. Kerrich, fellow of Magdalen college, Cambridge, from whom I received it very lately.

THE fibula and ring are both of brass, with the most high polished green aerugo upon every part of them; and the whole as perfect as if but lately made. The fibula is formed something like a crescent, striated, and ornamented with circles, of a round form and hollow, and seems to have something in the cavity when shaken; probably nothing more than some of its own rust or dust. From the one horn or tip of the crescent springs the acus or pin, which was to fasten the garment, where it is neatly joined to the crescent by a worm or two spiral ringlets, which would render the pin very elastic; the other end of the
pin

pin is sharp and pointed; and is caught by a lip or loop at the opposite tip of the crescent. Of what use the ring was to it is more than I can say; they were found hanging together in the form represented. The crescent shape denotes it to have been ornamental perhaps as well as useful; probably it might be worn on the breast, and was a badge of honour or distinction.



I TAKE this opportunity of adding a word or two to the account, which our late worthy president, the bishop of Carlisle, has given relating to the horns, as they are called, preserved at Carlisle. His lordship (*Archaeol.* vol. III. p. 22.) supposes them to be the identical horns or teeth, call them which you will, which were given to the convent of Carlisle by king Henry I. when he enfeoffed them with the tithes of the assart lands in the forest of Engelwood. Of this I have my doubts, and you will give me leave to lay before you my reasons why I cannot assent to this account.

FIRST, The horn given by the king, in the record of enfeoffment, produced by his lordship (p. 23.) is called, *quoddam cornu eburneum*, a certain horn of ivory; which seems to indicate an horn, like that of Ulphus at York, made of ivory, and ornamented, and by no means this great jaw of a fish, which appears never to have had any polish or ornament bestowed on it.

BUT what seems to put this matter beyond all doubt, is the following extract, which I made many years ago from an original MS. visitation of the North, by Thomas Tong, Norroy King at Arms, in 1530; which MS. or copy thereof, is now in the British Museum, N^o 1499, article 12, where, at p. 23, is this decisive entry. If it happens to prove the original, I had a view of it before it came into the late earl of Oxford's possession.

“ BE yt noted, that the monaster of Carlyle was first founded
 “ by Kinge Henry the First, in the seconde yeare of his reigne;
 “ and the sayde Kyng sent for the Prior of Sant Oswalds in
 “ Yorkshire, to be poſ of the sayde monaster of Carlyle, whose
 “ name was Adelwalde, was after Byſſoppe of the Dioces of
 “ Carlile, and continued poſ withall. And the sayde Kinge
 “ Henry gave unto the saide monaster a greate Horne venōry,
 “ havyng

“ havynge certayne bandes of sylver and golde, and the verses
“ followinge graved upon:

“ Henricus Primus noster Fundator,

“ Hoc dedit in teste carte pro jure foreste.

“ AND by the saide Horne he gave to the said monaster li-
“ bertys within the Forest of Englewood; and restest Founder
“ of the said monaster our Sovereigne Lorde the Kinge.

“ Argent a Crosse Sable, ensigned with a Crozier.”

By its being called a greate horne venōry, which, I suppose, means *venoury*, belonging to the chace or hunting, and may signify an hunting horn, it points out an ornamented horn of ivory, with silver and gold ringlets about it, as usual with other horns of the same sort, such as that at York, or rather lord Bruce's horn, mentioned at p. 24, of the same volume of the *Archæologia*, and seems a present of great propriety to the design of conveying liberties within a chace or forest.

I SHALL now take the freedom to mention another which has not been taken notice of in any of the disquisitions that have appeared before the Society on this subject.

IN 1755 being at Torporley in Cheshire, I took notice of these arms in one of the windows; Argent a bugle horn stringed Sable; they were also painted on the walls of the church. My late worthy friend that good antiquary Mr. John Allen, rector of the parish, and senior fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge, told me that they belonged to the lords of the manor of Utlington in this parish, as hereditary foresters of the forest of Delamere in that neighbourhood. He afterwards shewed me the horn of office itself, in the library at Utlington, since pulled down, and lately belonging to Sir John Crew, a curious anti-

quary, of that county, and descendant from the family of Done of Urkington. On Sir John Crew's decease, it came to the present possessor, his heir, John Arden, of Yorkshire, Esq; descended from the Done family, who has now this horn in his possession. By a monument in Torporley church, it appears that Sir John Done, who died 1629, bore the said coat on an escutcheon of pretence, over his own quarterings, as chief forester of Delamere. The office and estate came to Henry Done, by Johanna daughter of Richard de Kingley, about 1233. Utkington, with the village of Kingley or Kingsley, were given by Randal Meschines, earl of Chester, to Randal de Kingsley, together with the Bailifswick of the forest of Delamere. It appears by a deed (6 Edw. II.) that Richard Done held the 5th part of the village of Kingsley, &c. by a quarter part of a knight's fee, and the master forestership of Mere [Delamere] and Mottram, by himself and an horseman, and eight footmen under him, to keep that forest, then valued at 10*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* Mr. Camden calls the above-mentioned Randal de Kingleigh, by the name of Ranulph; but I suppose that Randal, Randle, Ranulph, and Randulph, may all indicate the same name.

In the catalogue of the Harleian MSS. (fol. 119. N^o 2038. article 39.) is this paper:

“ INTERROGATORIES exhibited by John Done, Esq; mayster
 “ and forrester of the forrest of Delamere, on his majesties be-
 “ halfe, against divers persons, for misdemeanors by them com-
 “ mitted against his majesties game in the said forrest 1626.”

By what has been said it appears, that the insigne of a forester's office was not uncommon; and it is probable, that many more of the same kind may still be in being, but of which we
 have

to the Cathedral of Carlisle.

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have had as yet no certain notice. I have the arms of Fitz-Nigel, with the Borstal horn, in one of my windows at this place,

and have the honour to be, dear Sir,

Your most obedient

and faithful humble servant,

WILLIAM COLE.

Milton, near Cambridge, Feb. 24, 1778.

XXXVI. *The Question discussed concerning the Appearance of the Matrices of so many Conventual Seals.*
By Mr. Pegge. In a Letter to Gustavus Brander, Esquire.

Read May 7, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

THERE are an infinite variety of seals engraved in authors, and amongst them a considerable number of conventual ones. Most of these last have been taken from impressions in wax appendant to old deeds and charters, but others have been copied from the *matrices* themselves still remaining amongst us. You, Sir, have a most valuable collection of these latter, and other gentlemen of my acquaintance are possessed of many, in-somuch that all together they amount to a considerable number.

It is a problem of some difficulty to account for the appearance of so many *conventual originals* at this time, considering in what manner these matrices were anciently disposed of; as by passing in succession from one person, or officer, to another; by being demanded by the ordinary on the deaths of abbats and priors, &c. or, lastly, directed to be broken, on those events.

OFFICIAL

OFFICIAL seals, which expressed the office only, and did not exhibit the proper name of the officer in their legends, were ambulatory things, passing from one person to another, and therefore could not be numerous. Seals of rural deanries, officialities, &c. were of this sort (as the keepers of them were liable to be displaced [a],) and went of course into the hands of the next persons that enjoyed those offices. Hence, Otto, the legate, "Let them who have taken an office, *which is but for a time*, as rural deans and officials, forthwith, and without trouble, *reign their seals at the expiration of their office* to him from whom they received them; which seal is to have the name *of the office only* graven upon it [b]." Wherefore if any of these temporary officers should happen to die, these seals, as they bore not their *proper names*, were ready to be delivered, without any alteration, to the persons who were next to succeed to the offices. They ran accordingly, in a general form, adaptable to any possessor; take these for a specimen:

Sigillum officij decani de B [c].

Sigillum decani decanatus de Ospreng [d].

Sigillum officialitatis de Wengbam [e].

Sigillum regiae majestatis ad causas ecclesiasticas, pro decanatu de Sonnyng [f].

&c. &c. &c.

[a] Cowel, v. *Dean*. Somner, *Antiq. Canterb.* p. 176.

[b] Legatine Constitut. of Otto, A. D. 1237, l. 28.

[c] Thorne, *Chron.* col. 2160.

[d] The *Matrix* is penes Rev. Edw. Taylor de Bifrons, c. Cant.

[e] Lewis on Seals, p. 8.

[f] *Archaeologia Soc. Antiq.* III. p. 425.

I FIND it is the opinion of bishop Kennet, that the rural deans had no other appointment or commission but the custody of the seal [g].

WHEREAS, again, seals of this species were, by special injunction, to be kept with extraordinary care [b]; they could not be *often* lost, either through negligence or accident. And I beg leave to observe further, before I proceed to the next point, that one would imagine from Otto's constitution relative to seals [i], that every abbat and prior, whose benefices were perpetual, might have, or rather ought to have, a seal of his own with his name upon it, apart and separate from the house or monastery. The words are, "Statuimus, ut Sigillum habeant non solum Archiepiscopi et Episcopi, sed etiam eorum officiales. Item Abbates, Priores, et Decani, necnon Ecclesiarum cathedralium Capitula, et caetera quaecunque Collegia, simul cum suis Rec-toribus, aut *divisim*, juxta eorum consuetudinem vel statutum. Pro varietate cujuslibet praedictorum habeat unusquisque Sigillum, puta nomen dignitatis, officij seu collegij, et etiam *illorum proprium nomen*, qui dignitatis vel officij perpetui gaudent honore, insculptum notis et characteribus manifestis." But it certainly was not so; for though the heads of great and opulent foundations had indeed their own seals, conformable to the regulation, or at least by favour of his holiness the Pope [k],

[g] MS. letter of bishop Kennett to bishop Gardiner, inserted in his own copy of the Paroch. Antiq. now in the possession of my singular good friend Richard Gough, Esq.

[b] Otto, *ibid*.

[i] The scarcity of Notaries Public occasioned Otto's appointment of authentic seals, as they were called; and indeed there were so few of those practitioners here, that I have seen them fetched from Lichfield into York diocese, and vice versa.

[k] Du Fresne, tom. VI. col. 491.

yet in lesser houses, colleges, and hospitals, one seal *often* [1] served for the head and the body [m], and the seal run, without expressing the proper name of the head; as

Sigillum jurisdictionis parve Malvern [n].
S. comune domus beate marie de Furness [o].
Sigillu Ospitalis Sci Nicolai de Hebeldon.
Sigillum conventus ecclesie sancti Gregorij Cantuarie.
Sigill. Abbatie de bello capite.
Sigillum abbatis de rupe [p].
Sigillu come Eccles. om Scoru Derbi [q].

There was no need therefore for seals like these to be renewed upon every vacancy of the headship, and consequently these, passing from one hand to another, were as little liable to be lost as those of rural deans or officials. The seal of the priory of Dover is very singular, bearing both the prior's name and the office;

S. officij roberti prioris de Doverey [r].

The reason of which I apprehend to be, that this prior had a seal apart from the body, or rather had a *secretum Sigillum*, or private seal, as a gentleman.

2dly, THE seals of deceased bishops were to be delivered by their executors to the archbishops of their respective provinces,

[1] Not always, for see Drake, Ebor. Append. p. ci. and plate.

[m] Mabillon apud Du Fresne VI. col. 491. Stat. 35 E. I. in Gibson's Cod. p. 1223. The abbat however had his private seal. Ibid.

[n] A matrix in Mr. Brander's possession.

[o] West's Hist. of Furness, Append. N° XIII.

[p] Of these four I have drawings.

[q] i. e. *Sigillum Commune Ecclesie omnium Sanctorum Verbiac*; a cast penes me.

[r] Lewis on Seals, p. 1.

or *sede vacante* to their chapters, as guardians of the spiritualities; and so on the decease of archbishops their chapters were to have their seals brought and given to them [1], though, as I am informed by the best authority, the seals of the archbishops are now given into the hands of the king. As the expression is plural in this case, *omnia Sigilla*, I should suppose the personal seals of bishops, as well as their official ones, were to be given up to the archbishop; for to the probate of the will of Alexander Bache, bishop of St. Asaph, 15 Sept. 1394, a memorandum is annexed, that the archbishop was to have from every bishop of St. Asaph, when he died, his pontifical ring, *et signetum suum oblongum optimum*, &c. [2] where certainly we ought to read, *et signetum suum, et Sigillum suum*, &c. But be this as it may, the official seals of abbats and priors ought, by parity of reason, to be sent to the bishops of their respective dioceses, though I have not found any express direction for it; for the reason of the custom or ordinance was, that no sinister uses, to the prejudice of the sees, might be made of the departed bishop's seal, and there was equal danger of abuses in the case of defunct abbats and priors. Hence, then, it would come to pass, that very few of these episcopal seals could ever, in appearance, be lost [3], so as to come into the hands of posterity; for the motion of ordering them to be delivered up to the superior, the archbishops or their convents, was, that they might be destroyed, in order to

[1] Wharton, A. S. I. p. 88. or Willis's Survey of Ch. of St. Asaph, p. 215.

[2] Willis, *ibidem*.

[3] By the *Reformatio Legum* 1550, they were to be defaced, and the materials to be given back to the executors, and probably the practice was the same more anciently. Mr. Lewis, p. 31, speaks of their consisting sometimes of gems or precious stones; but here he confounds the *secrta sigilla* with the large official ones; unless the private seals were to be given up also; for the official seals were never composed of any such valuable materials.

prevent

prevent any misapplication of them, or falsification by them; and in fact, we see very few *matrices* now of the order of bishops, though those of the abbats and priors are so numerous as to occasion the present enquiry and discussion.

3dly, If the conventual seals, properly so called, were not given up to the diocesan, as conjectured above, yet, on the same principle of precaution, they were broken and destroyed, in the presence of certain witnesses at the convent. Mr. Lewis says, that in case of a bishop's death, his episcopal seal is at this time broken in the presence of the archbishop of the province [w]; and Dr. Browne Willis writes, "The archbishop, as I am informed, still demands of the executors of every deceased bishop his episcopal seal, which is oftentimes delivered whole, notwithstanding the order that it should be broke in the presence of so many members of the chapters of each see [x]." And as to conventual seals, on the death of Adam de Boothbie, abbat of Peterborough, the seal of the monastery was broken [y]; and the seal of a deprived abbat was broken in like manner at Westminster [z].

BUT how are we to reconcile the breaking of the seal with the former article of delivering it up to the ordinary? I answer, though the order was to break them, as Willis states it, and this was the regular method of proceeding, yet that rule might not be always observed. That in fact it came much to the same thing; for as the receivers of the seals of defunct abbats and priors took them not as things of value in themselves, as being

[w] Lewis, p. 31. The Pope's seal is broken on a demise. Hist. of Cardinals, p. 296.

[x] Willis, *ibidem*, p. 216.

[y] Gunton, p. 46. See also Wharton Ang. Sac. I. p. 739.

[z] Widmore's Account of Westminster Abbey, p. 34.

commonly made of no better metal than brass or copper, but only as guardians to prevent any improper use that might be made of them, it answered the same purpose whether the matrices were given to them whole or broken; for if whole, they were supposed to pass, by the surrender of them, into safe hands, which would infallibly keep them from misapplication, or even from any further use.

Now, Sir, I would ask, whether upon this state of the case, one has not good reason for wondering how it is possible such a number of conventual *matrices*, as even you yourself are possessed of, should be at this day remaining? Some perhaps may imagine, for the solution of this difficulty, which I think has never been considered, though it seems so well to merit our attention, that seals have not unfrequently been interred with their masters or owners, and so the business is dispatched at once. But this is far from being satisfactory; for though many seals, as well as other valuables, may have been buried with their owners[a], yet these, so far as I can find, have always been the seals of private persons, one of those belonging to monasteries or bodies corporate having even been discovered in a grave.

I would beg leave therefore rather to suggest, first, that the religious houses had not only different seals for different purposes, as *ad causas*, &c. but that they also found frequent occasion, for one reason or other, to alter and change their seals. Thus the great priory of Christ church Canterbury, as we learn from Mr. Somner, had no less than four different seals[b]: the priory at Dover had two at least[c]; the abbey of Beauchief

[a] Lewis, p. 7. Gent. Mag. 1754. p. 410. 1755. p. 211. Camd. col. 892. for that I apprehend to have been the seal of a private person.

[b] Somner's Antiq. Cant. p. 149.

[c] Lewis, p. 1.

c. Derby, and the friars hermits at York as many [d]. The old seal then, I conceive, when a new one was made, might possibly be thrown about and neglected, since we know nothing about the surrendry or breaking of that in such case. Perhaps many of the matrices now in being, may not be the *last* seals of the houses they belonged to [e]; indeed one cannot be sure that any of them are, except they happen to tally with the impressions appendant to the surrenders in the augmentation office.

2dly, THE seals of the rural deans, of which several are extant, might, through negligence, be lost. For though seals in general were kept with the utmost care and caution [f], yet they were sometimes missing [g]; and in the case of these deans, though they were commanded to keep their seals strictly, as was noted above, yet these orders and injunctions were not always punctually obeyed. We have seen before, that abbeys, priories, and colleges, did not conform to Otto's regulation about putting the proper names of their principals upon their respective seals; whence I argue, that as the ecclesiastics, monks, and seculars, were tardy in certain respects, so the rural deans might not always surrender their seals when displaced; and, indeed, we find they were sometimes very

[d] Drawings of the former are in my hands; and see Drake in Append. p. ci. for the latter.

[e] The seal of Robert, prior of Dover, abovementioned, could not possibly be that which was put to the surrender, for the surrenderer's name was *J. bn.* Willis, *Mitr. Abb.* II. p. 99.

[f] Otto, p. 67. 69. Du Fresne, VI. col. 487. seq. Statut. 35. E. I. in Gibson, p. 1223. Lewis, p. 30. Hence they were sometimes carried about the neck; Hoveden, p. 390. Olearius, p. 368. See also M. Paris in Vit. Abb. p. 256. Hence Lyndwood, "tanto diligentia adhibetur cautior, quanto rei abusus est periculofior."

[g] Philipot, Villare Cant. p. 361. Dugd. Warw. p. 673. Baron. II. p. 457. Lewis, p. 69. seq.

loth to do it on account of the profit that accrued from them [b]. Now in this case, it was no more than natural, that several of their seals, when they came to die, should, by their relations and executors, be considered as so much brass and of little or no value, and consequently be easily lost. But what perhaps is the most worthy of observation in the case of these decanal seals, of which so many now remain, the office at last was itself superseded [i], and then the badges of it would necessarily become useless and insignificant.

I CAN imagine, again, upon the same ground, that though the practice might be for the religious houses and colleges to break their seals on the death of their rectors and principals, yet this might not always be complied with. At this time, as we have seen, the order is, that the seals of deceased bishops should be broken, but they are nevertheless often delivered whole and entire to the archbishop of the province. Besides, there was often much hurry and confusion on those occasions: and lastly, though seals were kept with all imaginable care, and even under several locks, yet they were liable to be stolen, mislaid, or otherwise lost. A wrangle sometimes happened in the house, about keeping those of abbeys and priories, and this might occasion the purloining or secreting of them. Mr. Lewis observes, that an act of parliament passed anno 1307, "whereby it was ordained, that the abbats of the orders of Cistercienses and Praemonstratenses, and other religious orders, whose seal had heretofore been used to remain only in the custody of the abbat, and not of the convent, should hereafter have a com-

[b] Joh. Athon, in Ottonis Constitut. p. 69. See also Kennet, *Par. Ant.* p. 630.

[i] Kennet, *Par. Antiq.* p. 643, seq.

“ mon seal, which should remain in the custody of the prior
“ and four of the most worthy and discreet men of the convent
“ to be layed up in safe keeping under the abbat's private
“ seal[*k*];” which plainly imports, there had been some disturbances about this business.

4thly, In cases where conventual seals were delivered up whole to the ordinary, they might often be little regarded or esteemed by *them*, from a notion of their uselessness, and so be cast into a corner; or passing into the hands of incurious, perhaps ignorant, executors, on the death of the said ordinary, might be totally disregarded as refuse.

LASTLY, I observe, that if from any cause, as from changing them, or otherwise, monastic seals should have grown obsolete, they would naturally be thrown aside into the public chest among the archives. And then, at the general dissolution of religious houses, under Henry VIII, a good number of them would probably be brought to light at once, and dispersed. This consequently was the season when they were most plentifully to be collected; and though many of them, no doubt, would be heedlessly thrown about, sold for old brass, and lost, yet others, by more careful people, would be preserved in families[*l*]. And these, we may rationally suppose, when a taste and love for such antiques were once excited, would be diligently sought after, and most highly valued, by the curious modern antiquary.

THESE, Sir, are the thoughts and reflections with which I satisfy myself in regard to the appearance of so many *matrices*.

[*k*] Lewis, p. 30.

[*l*] Gent. Mag. 1779, p. 155.

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of the monastic seals; and I shall be happy if they meet with your acquiescence, or do but in the least tend to remove scruples upon this head.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

SAMUEL PEGGE.

Whittington, Oct. 20, 1777.

XXXVII. *Obfer-*

XXXVII. *Observations on an ancient Building at Warnford, in the County of Southampton. By Henry Penruddocke Wyndham, Esq. In a Letter to the Secretary.*

Read May 21, 1778..

SIR,

IN reflecting on the works of several writers on our British antiquities who have gone before us, the public must allow great merit to the laudable zeal and painful industry shewn in their researches. It is, however, to be lamented, that, though a great deal of useful knowledge and curious information is to be derived from them, yet an injudicious mixture of matter in some, an imperfect collection in others, and an ill arrangement in most, have left much to be reformed, and much to be supplied, by the care and exactness of other writers.

THIS good service we may expect from the acknowledged abilities and spirited exertions of the Society of Antiquaries, who, in their several valuable publications, have already rectified former mistakes and supplied defects, in illustrating ancient usages, of which we had been either ill informed, or had but imperfect notions, in discussing many abstruse and difficult subjects.

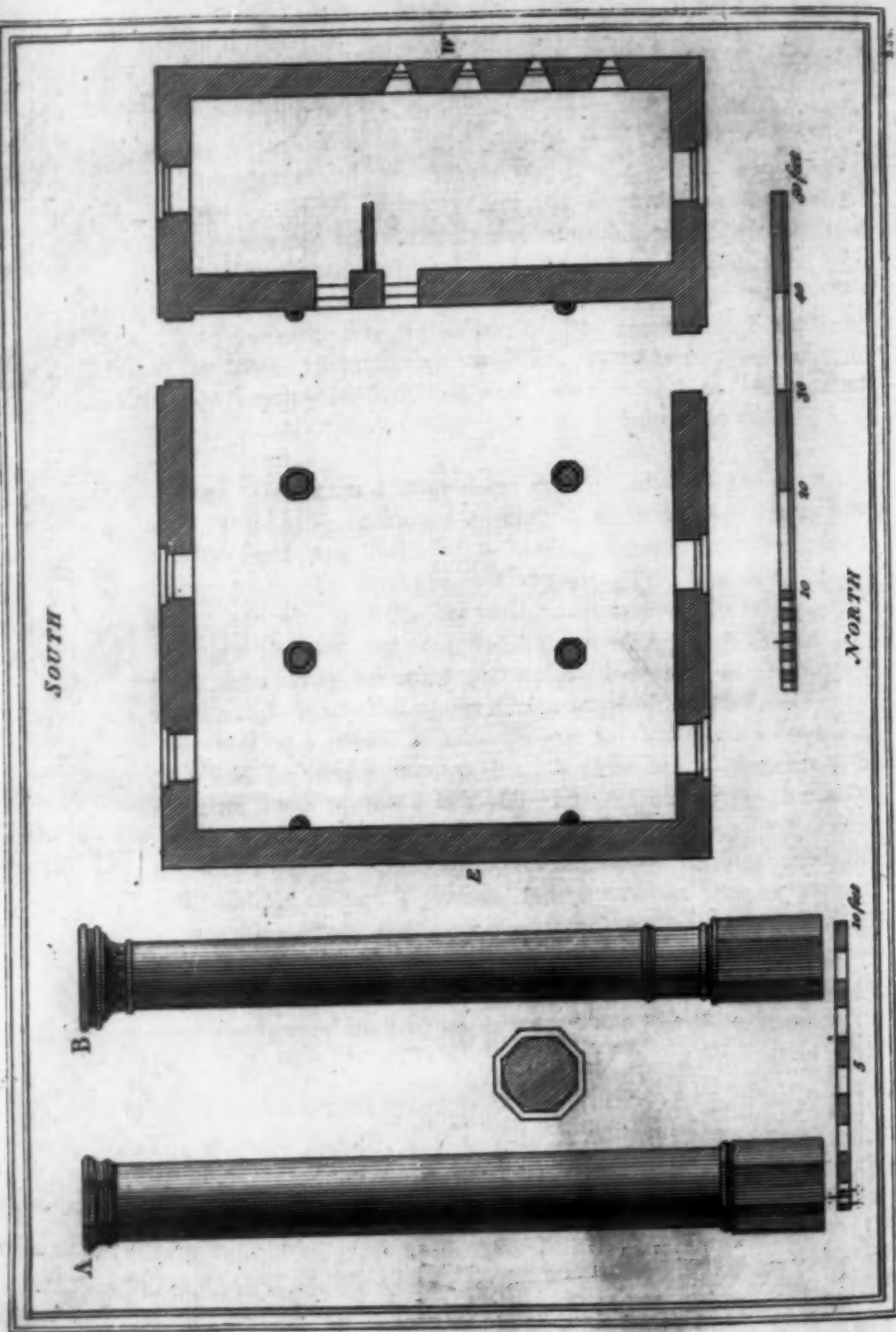
jects, and in bringing a variety of new and curious matter to light.

THEY have also this further merit, of exhibiting, in elegant engravings, views of many rare and singular subjects, and of thus preserving many stately and venerable piles, which have either long since ceased to exist, or are now mouldering fast into ruins.

IN pursuance, Sir, of this part of their institution, I beg leave to lay before them an account of the remains of a building, of a very singular construction, and, with respect to architecture in this island, of high antiquity, which hitherto has escaped the public notice.

THE extensive and magnificent remains of Poestum (the ancient Posidonia) continued enveloped with ignorance and obscurity for a long series of succeeding centuries, from which they accidentally emerged in the year 1743. The situation of them, however, is such, that their summits were always discernible from the road between Naples and Reggio, while, at the same time, they offered a picturesque landscape to every se-lucca which coasted along the Calabrian shore to Messina.

If this be a matter of astonishment to the English traveller, how will he believe that in this island, where commerce and affluence have opened a safe and easy communication between the most retired villages, and where a spirit of enquiry has diffused itself among almost all ranks of people; the large remains of a building, erected, I presume, before the year 700, are within a near view from the well-frequented turnpike road leading from London to Gosport? That the walls of it are not only visible, but that within them, four stately and well-proportioned columns are still erect, with their pedestals, bases, and capitals entire?



Plan of the Building with an Elevation of the Columns.

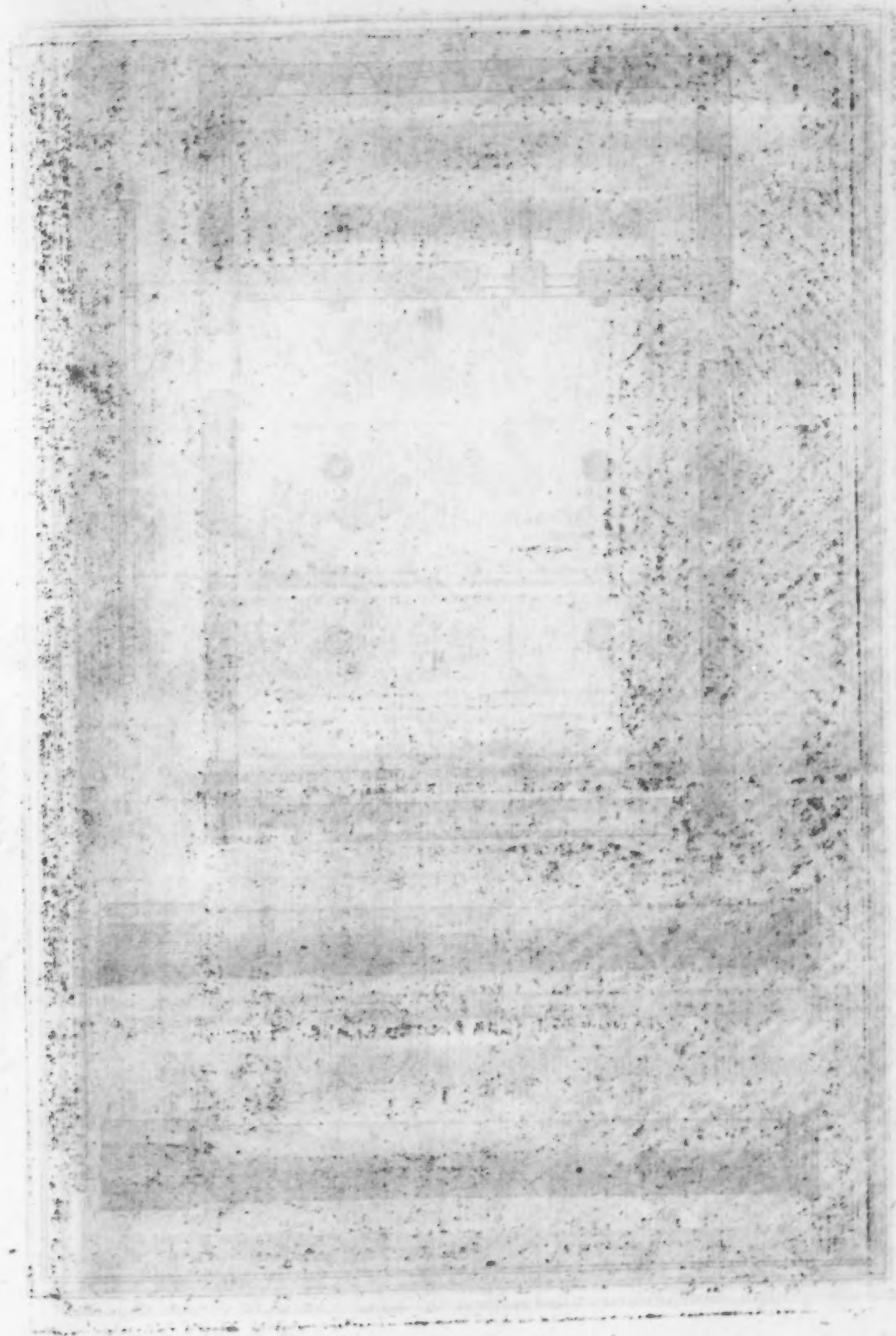
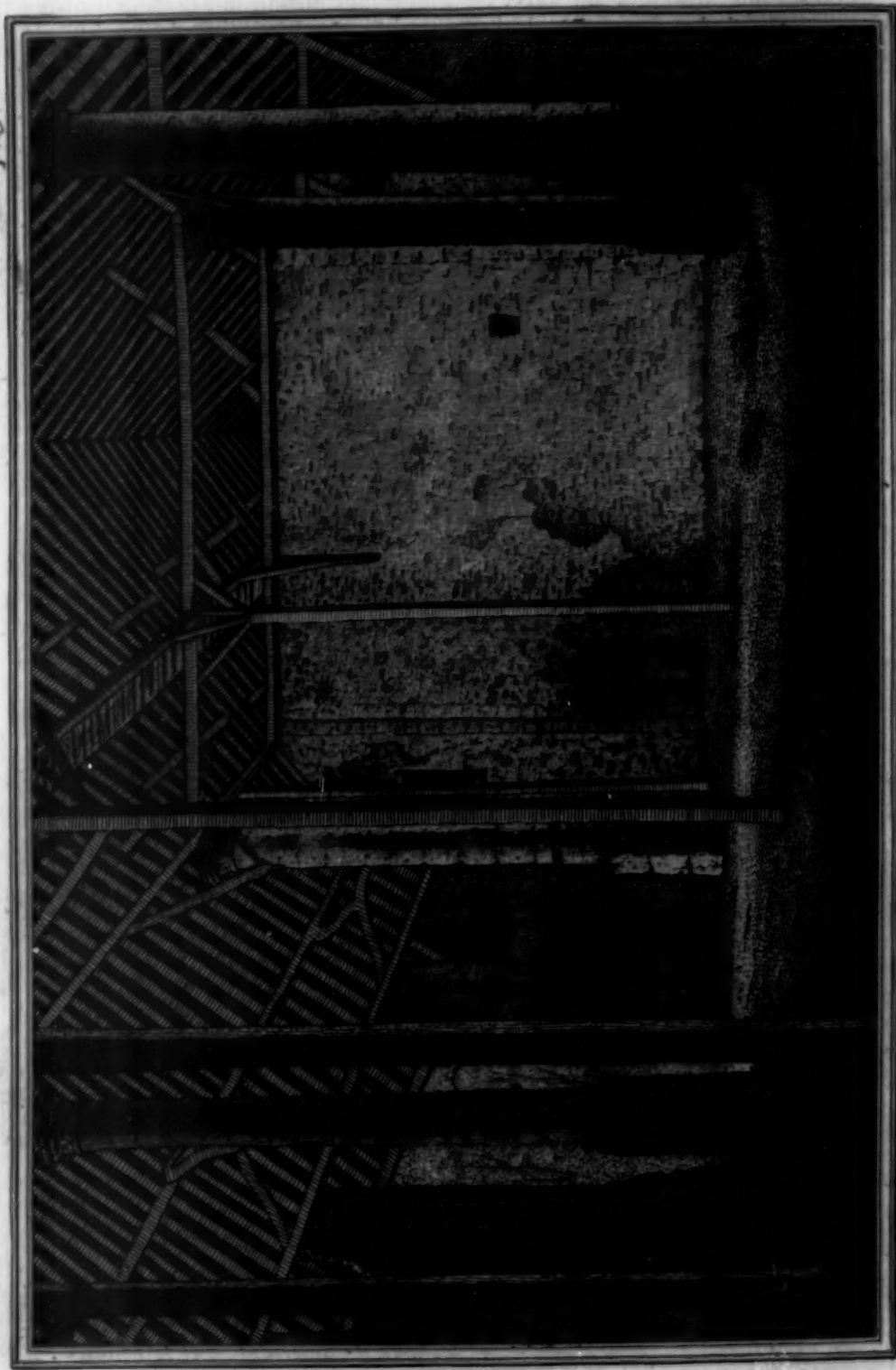
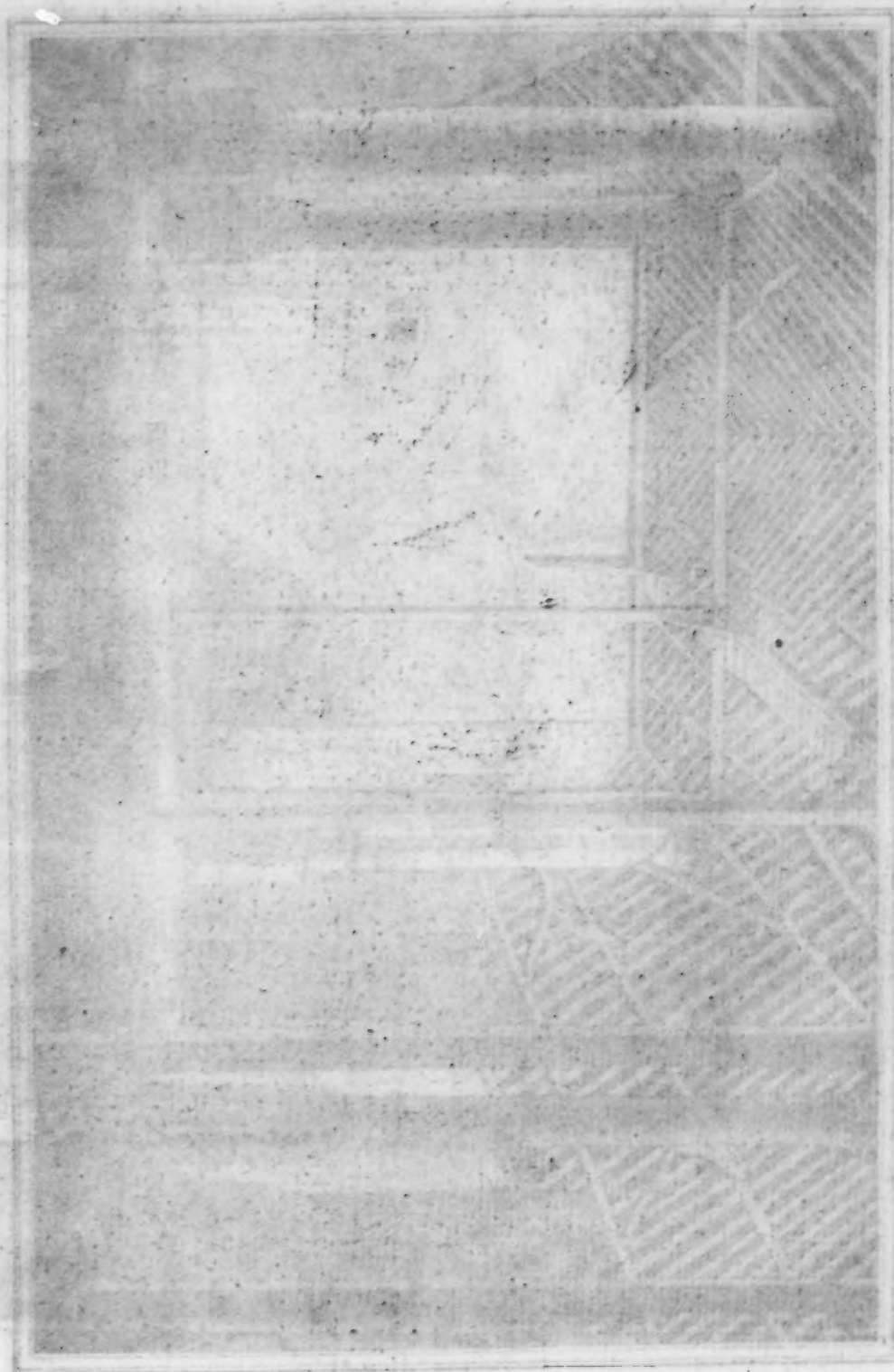


PLATE XXIX.

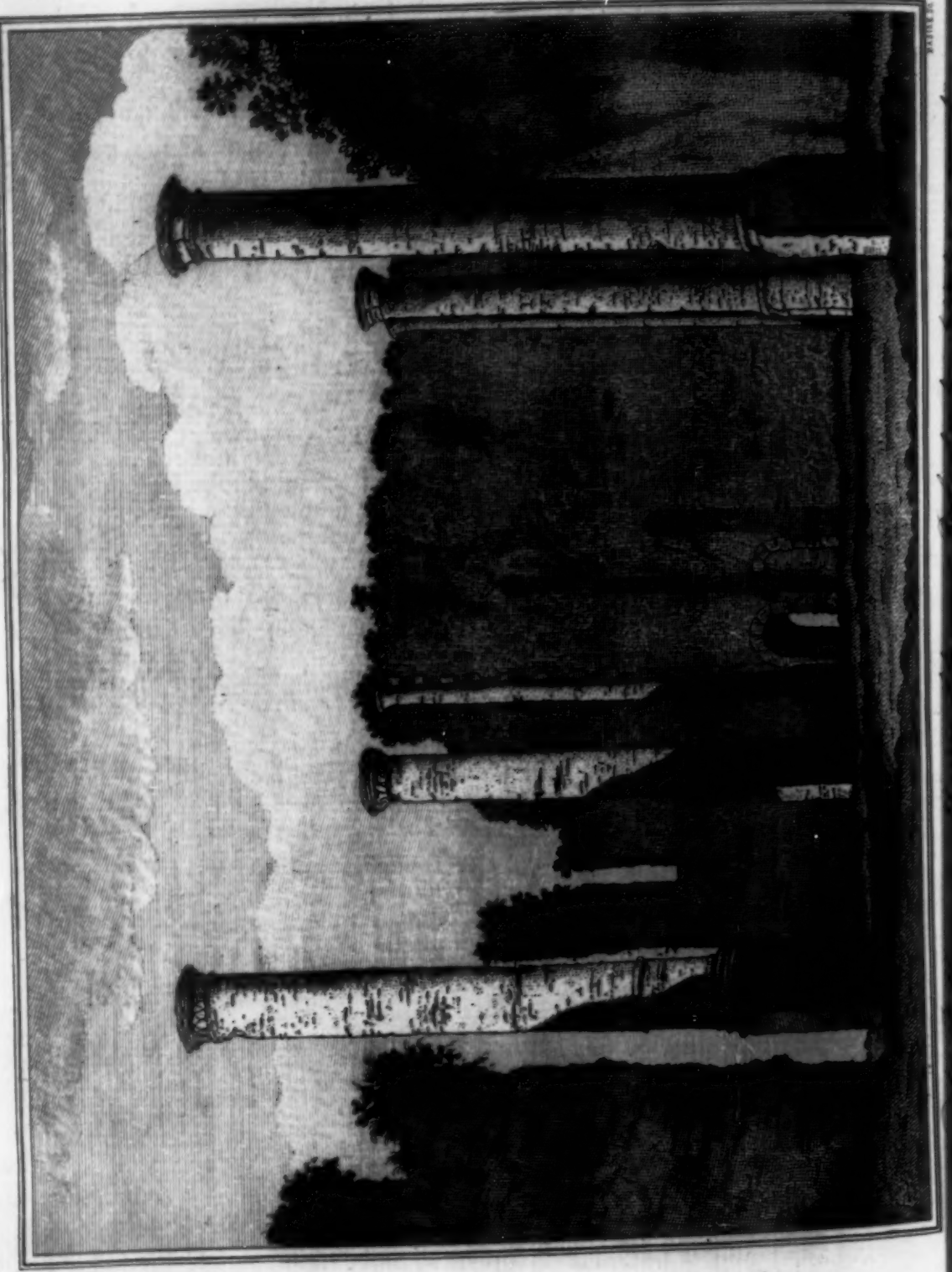


View of the Principal Room in its present state.



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THESE ruins are situated in the gardens of the Earl of Clanricarde, at Warnford, in the county of Southampton, and are distant from London sixty-one miles.

THE building is vulgarly called King John's house; but by what fatality so many ancient edifices came to be attributed to King John, and to bear his name, I am more disposed to wonder at, than to attempt to investigate. The old palace of Clarendon near Salisbury is at this day called King John's Manor, though we are certainly assured that it was founded long before his time; for the famous constitutions of Clarendon were enacted in it thirty-five years prior to the reign of John.

IN a map of Hampshire engraved by Norden about the year 1610, this building is marked as a ruined place; and among the writings belonging to the Clanricarde family, of a still more ancient date, I have seen it conveyed, with the manor and present mansion, by the name and title of the Old House.

THE three drawings* which are annexed to this account, will convey a more adequate idea thereof than the best description I can give.

THE first is a ground plan, which shews, at the same time, an elevation of the columns. The second exhibits a perspective view of the inside of the great room in its present state: and the last represents the building as it would appear if the roof and modern supports were removed.

THE original roof was probably vaulted diagonally; the arches might spring from column to column, and from the columns to the walls.

THE columns are composed of large stones, of as compact and durable a substance as marble, but from what quarries they were produced may now be difficult to ascertain.

TWO of them resemble in form that marked A in the plan; and the other two, that marked B. All the doors have round

* See plates XXVIII. XXIX. XXX.

arches over them, as well those leading to the small rooms as those of the principal entrances: these arches are all plain and simple, nor are any of their mouldings ornamented with those rich sculptures which distinguished the Saxon and Norman buildings of a later construction.

THE walls are raised with flints, bedded in a strong cement of mortar, and are of a great thickness.

OVER the South door of the present parish church is an inscription perfectly legible, and deeply engraven on a square stone, in Saxon mixed with Roman characters; part of it runs thus,

“ Wilfrid fundavit, bonus Adam me renovavit.”

Now Wilfrid flourished in the seventh century, and Adam de Portu, whose name is likewise to be seen in another inscription of the same age, on the North side of the church, lived, according to Camden [*a*], in the time of William the Conqueror.

By the term *renovavit* in the inscription I am willing to understand that Adam de Portu *rebuilt* the present church, though the continuator of the *Britannia* renders it *repaired*. *Renovare* may admit of either interpretation; but the most literal construction, in my opinion, is to *rebuild*.

A SPACE only of about twenty yards intervenes between the West end of the ruin and the East end of the church; and the

[*a*] It appears from Dugdale's *Baronage* (l. 463.) under the name Port, that Hugh de Portu was in possession of the lordship of Warnford at the time of the general survey by William the Conqueror, and that Adam the descendant of Hugh did not enjoy it till the reign of Henry the Second, who also possessed it during the reigns of Richard and John; and indeed the style of architecture in the present church corresponds with the age of Henry the Second, or his immediate successors, better than with that of the Conqueror, as the round and pointed arches are promiscuously used both within and without.

walls of the ruin running in nearly parallel lines with those of the church do not deviate much from the cardinal points.

FROM this and other circumstances, which shall be noticed hereafter, I am inclined to think that this ruin was the original church founded by Wilfrid; and, if the style of its architecture should appear to others as it does to me, to agree with that in use in Wilfrid's time, it will be an additional argument in favour of the conjecture which I have here ventured to adopt.

THE vaulted roof being perhaps decayed at the period in which Adam de Portu lived (about the year 1200), he might undertake to build a new church, in a more modern style, rather than to repair the old one; for, in the latter case, the inhabitants would of course have been deprived of the use of the church, while the repairs were carrying on; and, possibly, those repairs might have been attended with an expence nearly equal to that of erecting a new building; and, on account of the vaulting, must certainly have been executed with more difficulty and labour.

WE learn from Bede and Eddius, who were both contemporaries with Wilfrid, and who expressly wrote his life, that Wilfrid made two journeys to Rome, and that after his first return, he built a magnificent church and convent at Hexham, and another in Hrypis, now Rippon; which latter, Eddius thus describes in his seventeenth chapter, "*Basilicam polito lapide à fundamentis in terrâ usque ad summum edificatam, variis columnis et porticibus sustulit, in altum erexit et consummavit.*"

A FULL and elegant description of the church of Hexham may be seen in Richard, Prior of Hexham, who wrote about the year 1180. Book I. c. 3.

THIS Richard in another place informs us of the immense wealth which Wilfrid derived from his possessions in the church;

A a a 2

that

that he was thereby enabled to indulge his favourite passion for religious architecture [b]; and that the buildings which he erected were of such superior magnitude and excellence, that none like them were to be found at that period on this side of the Alps [c].

It happened in consequence of a dispute which Wilfrid, who was then archbishop of York, had with Ecfrid, king of the Northumbrians, that the archbishop was obliged to quit his diocese for a time [d].

THIS fell out in the year 678.

WE find him the year following, 679, at the court of Edilwach, king of the South Saxons, by whom he was kindly and honourably received. Wilfrid having converted Edilwach and his subjects to Christianity, obtained permission from that king to found a monastery at Selsey, near Chichester, where he continued in the full exercise of his episcopal functions for some years [e].

THE

[b] "Praedicto vere patri facile erat in Dei opere tot et tantas impensas facere. Nam cum novem monasteriorum pater, et plurimarum et ampliarum regionum et divitiarum possessor esset, in tanto honore et reverentia habebatur, ut quamplurimi abbates et abbatissae se suae coenobia suae custodiae subjicerent et commendarent. De Roma quoque et Italia et Francia et de aliis terris ubicunque invenire poterat, cementarios et quoslibet alios industrios artifices secum retinuerat; et ad opera sua facienda secum in Anglia adduxerat." Lib. i. cap. 5.

[c] "Denique citra Alpes nullum tale tunc temporis reperiri poterat." Cap. 3.

[d] "Orta inter ipsum regem Ecfridum et reverendissimum antistitem Wilfridum dissentione, pulsus idem antistes à sede sui episcopatus." Beda, lib. iv. cap. 12.

[e] "Wilfridus primos Meánvirorum duces ac milites sacrosancto fonte abluebat, et caeteram plebem tempore sequente baptizabat. Edilwach donavit Wilfrido terram octoginta septem familiarum, ubi suos homines, qui exules vagabantur, recipere posset, vocabulo Selseu: ibi fundavit Wilfridus monasterium ac regulari vitâ instituit. Ipse illis in partibus annos quinque, id est, usque ad mortem Ecfridi regis, officium episcopatus exercebat." Beda, lib. iv. cap. 13.

"Apud

THE situation of Selfey being near the sea, and consequently at one extremity of Edilwach's dominion, it is probable, that Wilfrid thought it expedient to erect a church also at Warnford, which place not being more than twenty-five miles distant from Selfey, and lying also near the centre of the Meanviri, who were at that time under the government of the South Saxons, all the subjects of Edilwach might thus be enabled to participate more commodiously of the common religion, to which they had been newly converted.

FROM these premises I have ventured to assign the time of the foundation of our ruin somewhere between the years 679, at which time Wilfrid took refuge from Ecfrid's resentment among the South Saxons, and 685, in which year Ecfrid died and Wilfrid returned to his see at York.

EXCLUSIVE of the churches at Hexham, Hrypum, Selfey, and many others, which Wilfrid built, we are assured that he also assisted Etheldreda in erecting the large conventual church at Ely [f].

GREAT remains of that building are still fortunately preserved; a representation of which may be seen in Mr. Bentham's history, p. 28.

Now there is such a striking conformity in the whole style of architecture of that church (and particularly of the East end) and of that of the Warnford ruin, that a curious and judicious examiner would immediately declare them to have been formed upon the plan of one common architect.

"Apud australes Saxones Wilfridus confedit, quos ad fidem Christianam cum convertisset ab idolorum cultu, pontifex eorum primus factus est, et ecclesiae cathedralis jecit fundamenta apud Selseu." Godwin de Praefulibus, p. 654.

[f] "Wilfridus in abbatissae officio eam gregeinque illic adunatum consecravit, locum sua dispositione constituit, seque in omnibus sollicitum exhibuit." Bentham's Ely, p. 24. note from the Ely Historian MS.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that no writer has reckoned the church at Warnford among the number of Wilfrid's buildings; yet nothing derogatory to my opinion can be inferred from this omission against the positive and express authority of the inscription, which is undoubtedly coeval with the present church, and which sufficiently recognizes and announces its original founder.

We see, moreover, in the form and proportions of the columns (the shafts of which are about eight diameters high) that they approach nearer to the Roman architecture than to any other subsequently used for many ages in this kingdom.

THE columns have a regular pedestal, base and capital; and though the capitals be not strictly Roman, yet the architect in this might indulge a particular fancy in deviating from the common rules; a practice which we see has obtained in all ages and in all countries.

THE revival of the Roman style of building did not commence in England till towards the latter end of the reign of Henry the Eighth. It cannot be supposed, that this edifice could have been erected within that period; particularly when we reflect that it was considered as a ruin 1610, and that it was, still more anciently, conveyed by the title of the Old House.

WE must, therefore, refer the foundation back to some earlier age; and to what age more likely than that of Wilfrid? We shall, otherwise, contradict the established and well-grounded opinion of the progress of architecture from the Romans to the Saxons, Normans, and Goths, and of its return to the Roman style again.

If the little decay which appears upon the columns should induce any to dissent from me, it will be sufficient to answer, that they have always been, and still are, sheltered from the weather

weather by a roof, and that therefore they might, doubtless, exhibit as perfect an appearance, with respect to their age, as they are actually found to do.

I NEED not remind the reader, that the stones, of which the columns are formed, though of various sorts, are all of an extraordinary hardness; but, although from that circumstance they shew few signs of decay or injury, yet, they have contracted that peculiar change in their colour, which is acquired by time (and which time alone can give) that a skilful antiquary might, from that alone, ascertain their age with tolerable precision.

If any should still remain unsatisfied, I may be permitted to ask, if these ruins are not the remains of Wilfrid's church, what else can they more probably be deemed to be?

WE are certain that no religious house, nor cell to one, was ever founded at Warnford; for, if that had been the case, Leland, Speed, Dugdale, Tanner, &c. would not all have been silent concerning it. Could the great room have been the hall of a mansion? if so, we might naturally expect to see such a hall[g] connected with a suite of other large and necessary apartments; but we find none, except the two small chambers noticed in the plan (which I suppose to have been a sacristy and vestry) and a long gallery over them, enlightened with Gothic windows, which are evidently of a later construction than the] rest of the building.

To conclude, I shall just beg leave to hint, that a traveller, who is curious in Saxon antiquities, may find an ample field for his researches in the neighbourhood of Warnford. The church,

[g] The proportions of which are 52 feet by 48, and which probably was thirty feet high. The height of the columns is 25 feet and six inches.

tower,,

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tower, and font at East Meon; the South and North doors of the church of Droxford; the castle of Portchester; and perhaps many other instances which have escaped my observation, offer singular specimens of the early architecture used in this island.

XXXVIII. *Description of the Great Seal of Mary d'Estè, the second Wife of King James II, from an Impression in the Collection of Mr. Benjamin Bartlet, F. S. A. By Mr. Brooke, of the Herald's College.*

Read May 28, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

THE seal, of which you favoured me with the impression, belonged to Mary d'Estè, the second wife of king James II, and being so extremely well preserved, and as yet unpublished, a view of it may probably give entertainment to the Society of Antiquaries*.

THE legend runs thus, MAG. SIGIL. MARIAE DEI GRA. MAG. BRITANNIAE FRAN. ET HIBERNIAE REGINAE; and it contains the arms of James II, impaling her arms, with supporters, and surmounted with an imperial diadem. On the baron side of the escutcheon, quarterly of four, 1. and 4. France and England quartered; 2. Scotland; 3. Ireland. On the femme side, quarterly of four, 1. and 4. an eagle displayed and crowned, for

* See Pl. XIX.

the paternal arms of Estè [a]; 2. and 3. three fleurs de lis within a bordure indented, for the Dutchy of Ferrara [b].

THIS princess was descended from the ancient house of Estè in Italy, being daughter of Alphonso d'Estè, the third of the name, Duke of Modena, by Laura Martinesfi, his wife. She was born Sept. 25, 1658, and married to James, when Duke of York, by proxy, at Modena, in 1673, being then only fifteen years of age [c]; Lewis the XIVth of France, who had adopted her for his daughter, giving her a suitable marriage portion. The events which this union produced in her husband's affairs are too much the subject of general history to need repeating. A late writer gives this character of her [d]: "The graces of her person and behaviour gained her all that popularity, which usually attends beauty in the most elevated station. But her haughtiness, her bigotry, and her busy and intriguing spirit, sunk her greatly in the popular esteem, after she became a queen. When she fled into France, she was kindly received by Lewis, who treated her with a generosity that did him much honour. She died at St. Germain's the 26th of April. 1718."

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

J. C. BROOKE.

Herald's College, May 26, 1778.

[a] Boyer's Great Theatre of Honour, p. 235.

[b] The Dukes of Modena possessed the Dutchy of Ferrara till 1597, when Pope Clement VIII, annexed it to the see of Rome. Hist. of the House of Estè, p. 247.

[c] Sandford's General. Hist. p. 681.

[d] Granger's Hist. of Engl. vol. IV. p. 251.

XXXIX. *Remarks on an antient Pig of Lead lately discovered in Derbyshire. By Mr. Pegge. In a Letter to Robert Banks Hodgkinson, Esq.*

Read June 8, 1778.

S I R,

BEING now returned into the country, I find myself at liberty to take into consideration, and briefly to illustrate, the block, or piece of lead, found in April 1777, on Cromford nethe-Moor, Derbyshire, which may be regarded not only as a curious, but as an important discovery to gentlemen who are either concerned in the mines of our country, or studious of our provincial antiquities.

THE inscription on this piece, which belongs to Peter Nightingale, of Lea, Esq; late high sheriff of this county, runs thus,

IMP. CAES. HADRIANI. AVG. MEI. LVI.

The letters being prominent, they must have been cut, I presume, in intaglio, on the bottom of the form or mould, in which the pig was cast, or engraven on a stamp of iron, to be

Bbb 2

used

used whilst the metal was warm and soft. The former I think the more probable, because the pigs, I imagine, were not turned out of the mould till they had acquired some degree of hardness.

THE principal difficulty of this inscription seems to lie in the letters MEI, which, as appears from the punctuation, undoubtedly constitute but one word. And as a dative case is evidently wanting for the making any sense of the inscription, I take those letters to be a ligature, or an abbreviated way of writing the word *memoriae*, i. e. MEM, and then the sense will plainly be, supposing LVI to stand for *Legio Sexta*,

The Sixth Legion inscribes this in memory of the
Emperor Hadrian.

Whereupon I must beg leave to remind you, Sir, that since this mode of interpretation rests entirely on MEI being a ligature for MEM, combinations of letters in inscriptions were common in Hadrian's time, and before[a]; and that there actually was not room in the mould or stamp to express the letters more distinctly, as appears by the delineation above. It is necessary also to add, that the Sixth Legion was brought into Britain by this Emperor A. D. 120 or 124[b]; and continued here many years: that though it was stationed chiefly at York, yet detachments were frequently made thence into other parts of the island[c]: and that probably some of the Legionaries were superintendants

[a] See the antient pig of lead of the age of Domitian in the British Museum. Some gentlemen have thought a transverse stroke might be omitted over the I in MEI, and that it might be intended for MET, i. e. *metallum*; and that the letters LVI might denote the number of the pig; but the piece has been closely examined for the purpose, and no such stroke appears. Besides, the specification of the number of pieces is not the mode or manner of any of the several inscriptions on the pieces hitherto discovered, which now are numerous.

[b] Drake's Eboracum, p. 8. 49.

[c] Horsley's Brit. Rom. passim.

over the lead works amongst the *Coritani* in Derbyshire. Hadrian died A. D. 138, so that the pig was smelted probably about anno 130, and consequently is 54 years posterior to Mr. Green's pig, which was cast A. D. 76 [d].

BUT some perhaps may think *memoria* not a proper term, as Hadrian was then living. I answer, you need only suppose him either returned to Rome, or absent as far off as York, to make it apposite.

I AM far from obtruding the above reading and interpretation of the inscription upon any gentleman, or precluding any other, as I am sensible there is but too much room for different opinions in these matters.

ADOPTING, however, the foregoing enucleation for the present, and till a more plausible one shall be offered, it will very well serve for a basis to the following observations, which will not be affected, I apprehend, by any interpretation put upon the two last words.

FIRST, In regard to the general use to be drawn from this inscription, the piece in question shews, that the lead works, when they were once begun here, or rather resumed by the Romans [e], were carried on without intermission. We find them here A. D. 76, and about A. D. 130; and as to the intermediate time, we have an account of two similar blocks found in Yorkshire, fabricated in the 7th consulate of Domitian, or A. D. 80 [f]:

2dly, THE conjecture that Mr. Green's block [g], though it was found on Hints common in Staffordshire, yet came ori-

[d] Gent. Mag. February, 1773.

[e] Ibidem.

[f] Philos. Transf. vol. XLIX. part ii; or the ancient pig at the Museum. See also Camden, col. 680, for another piece smelted in that reign.

[g] Gent. Mag. ut supra.

ginally from Derbyshire, and got thither in its way to London, is greatly confirmed by this pig found on Cromford moor; infomuch that the lead mines in our county seem to have flourished from the very first discovery of the mineral in the island, and to have continued to be wrought ever since. Here we have them under the management of the Romans as late as A. D. 130: And as to the Saxons, I shall now shew, that mines were wrought at Wirksworth, in which parish the greatest part of Cromford lies, before the year 714, and again in the year 835. Guthlac, the patron Saint of the great abbey of Croyland in Lincolnshire, first entered religion, as they called it, at Repton in Derbyshire [b]. This was one of those antient Saxon monasteries where men and women were assembled together under the government of an abbeſs, and Alſtride then preſided over it. The Saint, in his 25th year, removed from Repton to Croyland, and there died anno 714 [i]; before which time, Eadburga, abbeſs of Repton, daughter of Adulph, king of the Eaſt-Angles, had ſent him *ſarcophagum plumbeum lintheumque*: “a leaden coffin with a winding-sheet or ſhroud;” and in them he was buried [k]. But how, you will ſay, is this connected with Wirksworth, that the lead, of which this coffin was compoſed, ſhould come from thence? I anſwer, we have abundant reaſon for believing that Wirksworth was, at this period, the eſtate of the old Saxon houſe at Repton. *Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCCXXXV* [l]. *Ego Kenewara* [m] *abbatiſſa concedo Humberto*

[b] Flor. Vigorn, p. 568. Leland, Collect. III. p. 278.

[i] Aſſerij Annales, p. 151. Petr. Bleſ. p. 109. Polychron, p. 246.

[k] Leland, Collectan. II. p. 590. Itinerary, IV. p. 131.

[l] So I correct for DCCCCXXV, Archbiſhop Ceolnoth being ſitting at Canterbury anno 835, but dead long before 925. The ſcribe miſtook the firſt X for C. This correction I have ſince found confirmed by Somner, in Append. ad Ant. Cant. p. 38; and therefore have adopted it without ſcruple.

[m] *Cinnewarra*. Somner. This abbeſs, I believe, is not mentioned on any other occaſion.

duci terram juris mei[n] *nomine Wircesworth*[o], *ea conditione ut omni anno det ecclesiae Christi in Dorobernia pro gablo plumbum trecentorum solidorum*[p] *ad opus ecclesiae ejusdem Archiepiscopo Ceolnotho et successoribus ejus*[q]. "In the year of our Lord 835, I Kenewara, the abbess, grant to Humbert, the alderman, that estate of mine called Wirceswrth, on condition that he gives annually as a rent to Archbishop Ceolnoth, lead to the value of 300 shillings for the use of Christ Church Canterbury." Whence it appears, that Wirksworth belonged then to the abbess, that is to the abbey of Repton, since Kenewara could be abbess of no other place; and that a former abbess, Alfrida, sent to St. Guthlac a coffin of lead from Repton. Wirksworth, I conceive, was lost to the abbey on its destruction by the Danes, anno 874[r]; after which it probably escheated to the crown, since we find it there when Domesday book was compiled. It appears again, that lead works were carrying on at Wirksworth A. D. 835, which makes it exceedingly probable, that the lead of the coffin spoken of above was the product of the same place. As to Humbert, the lessee, here styled *Dux*, Mr. Selden will inform you, that the Saxon Alderman, or Earl, very commonly had this title given him[s]. He was living, anno 852[t].

[n] *Sui*. Somner. Malè.

[o] *Wircesmuth*, and in marg. *Wirsmuth*, Somner; both wrong.

[p] As this amounts to above 93 £. per ann. of our present money, lead seems to have borne a great price then.

[q] *Evidentie Eccl. Christi inter X Script. col. 2222*: also Somner, *Ant. Cant.* p. 38. Append. where it runs, "et successoribus suis in perpetuum."

[r] Hoveden, p. 417. M. Westm. p. 134.

[s] Selden, *Tit. of Hon. chap. V.*

[t] *Chron. Sax.* p. 75.

To come to the Norman times: In Domesday book, under *Werchefoorde*, we read, "Ibi sunt iij plumbariae [u];" i. e. three lead mines; and the town of Worksworth certainly took its modern name, which signifies *operum castellum*, or *operum vicus*, from the lead works there [w].

As to the Derbyshire mines in general, at this period; it appears from the record, there was one mine at Mestresforde [], another at Badegwella [Bakewell]; a third at Aisseforde [Ashford]; and a fourth at Crice [Crich]. And it is particularly noted, that the three manors of Bakewell, Ashford, and Hope, paid, in the Confessor's time, 30*℥*. and "v sesterios mellis" et dimid. et v plaustratas plumbi de L tabulis," that they then paid but 12*℥*. and that William Peurel [Peverel] had the custody of them. The rent it seems was greatly diminished. However, by *tabulis* I understand, pigs or blocks, which being 50, there would be ten to the cart-load or fudder; this word *fudur* signifying both in the Saxon and German, a cart load [x]. It is rendered in the annals of Dunstaple *Carata*, as it ought to be there amended [y]. The mines, it seems, were now far extended in our county, so that works were carrying on at many other places besides Worksworth.

[u] This word, however, occurs not in the Glossaries: the record has it again in Mestresforde, Crice, Badegwella, Ashford.

[w] Werkworth and Werk-castle, in Northumberland, may perhaps have the same etymology. Werkworth occurs too in Kennet, Par. Antiq. p. 381.

[x] Chron. Sax. p. 75. Lye, Sax. Dict. v. *possep*.

[y] *Ducem carcias plumbi super refectorium posuimus.* Ann. Dunst. p. 287. As there is no such a word as *carcia*, Mr. Hearne says, *vel carrigia*; but *carciat* is much nearer, and is a word used in M. Paris, p. 287. and Dugd. Mon. III. p. 60. written *carrata*. II. p. 231, but more usually *carada*. However, hence *carrat*, Thoroton Nottingh. p. 258, and now more contractedly *cart*. It means evidently a cart-load, and I question whether the *fudur* was then a certain weight, as it is now.

To conclude this article; there is evidence sufficient that lead-mines have been opened and flourishing in Derbyshire, from the Conquest to this day; and at this time one work, called Gregory, in the parish of Ashover, of which you, Sir, have a share, is perhaps the richest, taking the neat annual produce for a tract of twenty years, that ever was known in these parts.

3dly, The weight of this pig, as I am informed by Mr. Nightingale, is 126lb. a proper load for a small peakril horse to travel with, day by day, in bad roads [2].

I remark, 4thly, That according to the dimensions[a], which I have been favoured with from the same friendly and communicative gentleman, this pig has the same awkward and inconvenient shape as Mr. Green's, and when lying on the ground with the inscribed part upward, which is the natural posture, could not be readily or commodiously taken up.

5thly, As there is no date indicating the year or consulate when this pig was made, as in Mr. Green's piece, the same stamp or mould would serve for the whole reign of the Emperor Hadrian, without wanting to be renewed, which I regard as a specimen of improvement upon the more antient practice, and probably took place in Domitian's time [b], or soon after.

It may be observed lastly, that both this and Mr. Green's pig, were undoubtedly articles of commerce. Mr. Camden, indeed, thought, that as on the block bearing the name of Domitian, the letters DECEANO were read in the inscription, the pieces there spoken of as found on the Cheshire shore might have been a monument raised on account of some victory over

[2] Mr. Green's pig weighed 156lb. and see the Magazine above cited.

[a] Length, at top, 19 inches $\frac{1}{2}$, breadth 3 inches $\frac{1}{2}$. Length, at bottom, 22 inches $\frac{1}{2}$, breadth 5 inches $\frac{1}{2}$. Thickness 3 inches $\frac{1}{2}$.

[b] Camden, col. 680, where the consulate is mentioned.

the *Cangi* [c]. But this is highly improbable, for there were two different inscriptions, one of Domitian, and another of Vespasian and Titus, and there were no less than twenty pieces of both together, which is very incompatible with a trophy of victory; and the more so, if you include Mr. Green's pig found at Hints, on the side of which we have the letters DECEA G, which no doubt was intended for DECEANG, the N being decayed, and only a space left for it. This victory, again, is not only inconsistent, according to his own account, with history, as the Cangi were conquered in Nero's time, but the Cangi also upon this hypothesis must have been seated both in Staffordshire and Cheshire. Quere then the meaning of these letters? Now of CEATIVS, a local deity, or the attribute of one, in Camden [d], Mr. Baxter makes *Ceangus* [e], but this is too arbitrary: However, he contends, in another place, that most of the British clans had their *ceangi*, *young men employed in the summer feedings of their flocks and herds*, and in particular, that the *Corij* or *Coriceni*, by whom he means the *Coritani*, had theirs in Derbyshire [f]. Admitting this learned man's conception, DECEANG may denote the name of the place or district where these pieces were fabricated, and perhaps might be the old British name of Wirksworth, this last being apparently of a Saxon original. Indeed I see no reason why the Cheshire pieces, if you suppose them to come thither in their way to Ireland, may not be the product of some Derbyshire mine, as well as that found on Hints common. I am, however, of opinion, that all

[c] Ibid.

[d] Ibid. col. 1017.

[e] Baxter, Gloss. v. CONCANGIL.

[f] "Fuerint et Corijs sive Coricenis aestiva versus montem Beccum [i. Pecum] in Dervationensi regione." Baxter, v. CEANGI.

the blocks in general hitherto discovered were intended for merchandize only, and not for memorials of any particular events, and in this I am fully confirmed by the express words of Pliny, "Nigro plumbo ad fistulas laminaeque utimur, laboriosius in Hispania eruto, totasque per Gallias: sed in Britannia summo terrae corio adeo large, ut lex ultro dicatur, ne plus certo modo fiat[g]." Whence it appears, that British lead was not only exported to Rome, but was found in our island in such great plenty as to make it necessary to limit the quantity that should be gotten. The passage is certainly decisive as to lead being an article of commerce, but there is a difficulty attending it nevertheless in regard to the quantity. You, Sir, on inspecting our pig, remarked that it had been run at nine or ten different times, each running being very visible, and forming so many *strata*; whence it should seem, that the ore in the then shallow British mines, was gotten only in small quantities, and that the workmen proceeded to smelt it as fast as they got it; which is not very consistent with the testimony of the great naturalist above cited; but perhaps, at other times, and in other places, the mineral might be found in greater abundance; at least I did not observe any marks of additional fusions being made from time to time in the pig at the Museum.

THE Hints pig has since been reviewed in this regard, and appears in like manner to have been cast at different intervals. I suppose, as the miners of those days did not penetrate very deeply into the bowels of the earth, they got the ore but in small quantities at a time, and smelted it as fast as they got it, adding it to the piece then forming in the mould.

[g] Plin. Nat. Hist. XXXIV. cap. 17.

THESE are all the particulars which occur to me on the subject, and I shall be happy if they meet with a favourable reception at your hands, being, Sir,

Your truly affectionate,

and most obedient servant,

SAMUEL PEGGE.

Whittington, May 31, 1777.

XL. *Some further Remarks on the Origin of the English Language. By the Rev. Mr. Drake. In a Letter to the Secretary.*

Read February 19, 1778.

S I R,

YOU may recollect, that some time ago I had the honour of communicating to the Society, a paper*, asserting the Teutonic original of the English language, contrary to the opinion of a celebrated writer of antiquity, who chiefly confines it to a Celtic one. You may remember also, that in order to confirm my position, I confronted a portion of the Gothic version of the gospel, as it appears in the *Codex Argenteus*, with our common translation of the same chapter, and I believe you was surprized to observe how striking a resemblance the English tongue had with the Gothic. It may perhaps be some entertainment if I should pursue the subject; for which purpose I shall again place together another part of the two different versions, and compare them in the same manner I did before, that by an actual collation of the two languages, a Gothic original of the English tongue may demonstrably appear. For this design I shall select a few circumstances relative to the crucifixion of our

* See before, p. 306, Art. XXXI.

Saviour,

Saviour, as described by St. Mark, and without further introduction lay them before you.

Slouun is *baubith rifa*. They smote him on the head with a reed.

Slouun is the imperfect tense of the verb *slaban* percutere, to strike. The Saxons adopted this word from the Goths, and used it frequently in the simple acceptation To *strike*; but they afterwards affixed to it the idea of death in the person that was struck; *percutere aliquem ut moriatur*. The English have at present dropt the primary signification, and retained only the latter; for with us, To slay is synonymous with to kill. Gawen Douglass indeed, who lived some time in England, and died there in the reign of Henry the Seventh, in his excellent translation of Virgil, uses this verb in its original Gothic sense.

But first,

Achates slew fyre of the flynt;

that is, struck fire from the flint. To this let me add, that in the infancy of our language, the imperfect of this *Slaban* was formed in the same manner as that of the Codex Argenteus. In the old romance called the King of Tars, we find it both in sound and orthography exactly the same with the Gothic imperfect.

The storne Sarazens in that fihte
Slow the Christen men down-right.

Is baubith, His head. This is too familiar to an English ear to require further explanation. I must observe, however, that this word *baubith* is derived from the verb *baufgan*, tollere, levare, the head being the most erect and elevated part of the body. Upon the same principle, the Saxon *heafod*, from *heavan*, and the English *head*, from the participle *beaved*, of the same signification,

signification, are made: a derivation more rational than either the Greek *κεφαλή*, or the Latin *Caput*, can boast of.

RISA, with a reed. This term, I acknowledge, has not the least relation to modern language: But we shall find it among our ancestors, who frequently made use of it. The Saxons adopted it, among whom it signified *juncus*, a reed or bulrush. Gawen Douglass explains *Uha*, in Virgil, by *Risa*. When Sinon had escaped from the Greeks, and concealed himself in the night-time among the reeds and rushes, the translator tells us,

Unto one muddy mases in the dark nyght

Among the risis, and redis, out of sycht

Full low I lurkit.——

SOME of our poets of the oldest date by *rise* express a twig, or branch of the rose-bush; a signification pretty similar to this, and certainly deducible from this root. Chaucer also applies it to the same purpose:

Her face was gentile, and tretise,

As white as lillie, or rose in rise.

BISPUWUN *ina*. They spit upon him.

OUR version has taken the Saxon *spatton*, yet *bispuwun*, though conveying at present an idea rather more indelicate, is perfectly intelligible. I shall therefore upon this article only observe, that the prefixed particle *be* before verbs originated among the Goths, was adopted by the Saxons, prevailed long in the English, and is not totally obsolete in our modern dialect.

LAGGANDANDS *knewa*. Bowing their knees.

LAGGAN to lay, place or bow. Every Teutonic language has terms significative of this meaning, derived from this Gothic verb *Laggan*. Among the peasants of the North of England and Scotland, *Ligging* is a more general expression than Laying.

KNEWA knees. It will give you pleasure, I imagine, Sir, to observe, that this word has descended to us, after the succession of fourteen centuries, so pure and unadulterated.

LAILAIKUN *ina*. They mocked him. *Laikan* signified originally *Ludere*, or *exultare*, as in the sixth of Luke, *Laiknod*, Leap for joy. From thence it became figurative, and used for To mock, or play upon, as in this passage. It is somewhat remarkable, that this word *Laikan*, To play, though we find no traces of it in the Saxon, is still prevalent in a certain district of this kingdom. In some parts of Yorkshire, the children apply the term to *lake*, as synonymous with to play, or to exercise themselves in their boyish entertainments. I have repeatedly heard it, and, when a boy, remember frequently to have made use of it. It is, I believe, peculiar to those parts, as I don't recollect to have heard the same phrase in any other county. I have observed before, that this word does not come to us through the medium of Saxonism, nor do the Swedish, Danish, German, or Belgic tongues, retain any vestige of it. It shews itself however very apparently in the old Icelandic, where *Leykna* signifies to play. There seems indeed a very great affinity between our Gothic and the Icelandic, which is the oldest dialect of the present Scandinavian race. If these two languages were originally the same, as there is the greatest probability to suppose, distance both of time and place must have caused a material difference in the texture of them. We are told this work, the *Codex Argenteus*, was written in Moesia, by Ulphilas, in the fourth century, whereas it is very certain that the Norwegians did not make their celebrated settlement in Iceland till the ninth. The situation of Moesia, placed on the confines both of Grecian and Roman territories, must have been a means of introducing among those Goths a variety of terms or phrases unknown to their
their

their original language; nay so much is drawn from the former of these, the Greeks, that the great Dr. Hickes very positively asserts, that "*Gothismus in multis locis Graecissat.*" The Icelanders, on the contrary, *penitus toto divisi orbe*, would receive very few or no exotics into their dialect, which consequently being unenriched with foreign importation, remained infinitely more barren and jejune than the Southern Goths, though in radicals essentially the same. How long these Goths were settled on the South side of the Danube, and from what part they migrated to that place, is a point, I believe, the sharpest inquirers into antiquity are not as yet able to ascertain. This, I think, we may be assured of, that they were of Scandinavian extract, as the *Codex Argenteus* gives us the strongest internal evidence, that they and their language were Northern. The learned Wormius informs us, that the Northern nations reckoned their years by winters, and attributes the occasion of this particular mode of computation to their natural feelings. "*Quod eos praecipue juvaret meminisse quot jam hyemis molestias et frigoris acerbitates (quae longè maximam anni partem apud eos perdurant) superassent.*" The same sensible perceptions, which must prevail in the warmer climate of Italy, suggested to Virgil to distinguish his year by the very contrary season:

Nam te jam septima portat
Omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aestas.

Now, Sir, it is very certain, that the Gothic version frequently interprets the Greek *ἔτος*, or year, by the word *wintrus* or winter. Thus, *Εἰκοσι ἔτος δαδενα*, he was twelve years old, is rendered *warth twalib wintrus*. And in many other places this peculiarity of diction is observable. The Saxons also, who were the genuine descendants of the Goths, and originally also

the inhabitants of the dreary regions of Scandinavia, would naturally adopt the same phrase. When Herod slew all the children from two years old and under, the Saxon gospel says: *From twy wintrum cilde and binnan*. From these instances of this particular manner of speech in regard to the year, I think it is clearly evident, that both the Goths and the Saxons were a Northern people, and of Scandinavian extract. To this let me add, that this application of the word *wintus*, as implying years, descended to the English; but as the same reason for the use of it did not subsist in the milder climate of this country, it consequently very soon wore away, and disappeared. However, in the most early specimens of our poetry we find it retained. In the two first poems that are given us in Hicks's Thesaurus, as being the first that were composed after the Conquest, we meet with this mode of expression very generally. Thus in the first of them,

Ic am elder thanne ic was
A wintre and eke a lore.

AND in the other, relating to the life of Saint Margaret,

Some sa the maiden was of threttene winter elde.

FROM this digression, which perhaps you may think has need of an apology, I shall proceed to observe, that the Icelandic, probably drawn from the same fountain as the Gothic, has furnished many materials which constitute the radical part of our present language. The great critic, Dr. Hickes, has made this very apparent in his *Dictionarium Islandicum*, where we may discern the roots of many terms and expressions which, at this day, prevail in the English. With great propriety, therefore, that very learned man concludes, " *Ex bibliis Islandicis non*

“ minus fere, quam ex Saxonici monumentis, vernaculae nostrae
“ origines petendae sunt, et sine quibus quis Anglicanae vel
“ Scoticae linguae etymologicum, aut glossarium scripturus,
“ opus suum adeo non perficiet, ut ei certò par non esse potest.”
Hence we may learn the reason why that remarkable Icelandic
composition, called the Edda, has so great a resemblance to the
Anglo-Saxon poetry. A late ingenious writer, who has ex-
amined Northern antiquities with a peculiar judgement and pre-
cision, has expressed himself upon this subject so much to my
purpose, that I shall take the liberty to give you his words:—
“ The Anglo-Saxon and Icelandic poetry,” says he, “ will be
“ allowed to be in all respects congenial, because of the great
“ affinity between the two languages, and between the nations
“ who spoke them. They were both Gothic tribes, and used
“ two not very different dialects of the same Gothic language.
“ Accordingly we find a very strong resemblance in their ver-
“ sification, phraseology, and poetic allusions; the same being
“ in a great measure common to both nations.”

GRIPUN sumana manne, Seimona Kyreinaum. They compel
one Simon a Cyrenean. This sentence will appear more Eng-
lish if we render it in this manner. *Gripun* They gripe or
seize with a degree of violence, *sumana manne* some man, &c.
As to the first word *Gripun*, it has been transmitted to us very
genuine, in sound and signification, exactly similar to the Gothic.
I dare say, it will not be displeasing to you if I throw a little
glimpse of classic light upon this gloom of antiquity, by intro-
ducing a passage where Milton has made a very elegant use of
this descendant of the Goths.

About them round

A lion now he stalks with fiery glare;
Then, as a tiger, who by chance hath spy'd
In some purlieu two gentle fawns at play,
Strait couches close, then rising changes oft
His couchant watch, as one who chose his ground,
Whence rushing he might surest seize them both,
Grip'd in each paw.—

RELATIVE to this word, I must observe, that we have in our English tongue a fabulous beast, better known to the heralds than the naturalists, called a Griffin. From whence this imaginary monster had its name, our inquirers into language are not agreed. Warton, in his elegant treatise of English poetry, quotes, from an old romance, which describes the actions of our Richard CoeurdeLion in the holy land, these two lines,

All that he hytte, he all to frapped,
The Gryffons away faste rapped.—

AND in a note upon them he informs us, that the Byzantine Greeks are often called Griffones by the historians of the middle ages; and adds, that Wanley supposes that the Griffin in heraldry was intended to signify a Greek, whom they thus represented under the figure of an Eastern monster, which never existed but as an armorial badge. I must own this etymological supposition of Wanley's appears by no means satisfactory to me: I am rather inclined to think, that as this imaginary animal was formed of a lion and eagle, both beings of a ravenous and rapacious nature, it was originally termed *grypin* or *gryppin*, which after came by an easy alteration of pronunciation to be sounded

Gryffin [a]. I think I can discern this monster pictured in an old ballad, intituled Aldinger, under the appellation of "Grype."

I dreamt a sneven on thurday eve,
In my bed whereas I lay,
I dreamt a Grype and a grimlie beast
Had carried my crown away.
And he would worrye me with his tush,
And to his nest me beare.—
Saving there came a little grey hawke,
A merlin him they call,
Which untill the ground did strike the Grype,
That dead he down did fall.

A FURTHER confirmation of this derivation may be had from Gawen Douglass, who calls a vulture a creature of the same rapacity as a Griffon, a Grype [b]. Thus when it is represented as preying upon the entrails of Typhæus:

An hideous Grype with bustons bowland beik,
His maw immortal doth pik and overrich,
His bloody bowells tearing with huge pane.

MANNE, Man. The origin of this word we may be informed of by Tacitus, who, in his treatise de moribus Germa-

[a] The Germans call this creature *Griff* from *Greiffen*, corripere; another argument to prove it rather of Northern than Eastern origin.

[b] Henry de Tangmere, burgess of Cambridge, gave to the college of Corpus Christi, a cup called the *Gryps Eye*, a vulture's egg, set in silver, with a foot and corner of the same. This being broken was renewed in the mastership of Dr. Porie, whose initial and arms are now on it. Masters' hist. of Corpus Christi coll. p. 21. *Gryphis unguis* was a drinking vessel, or horn, in Wormius's Museum, (Mon. Dan. p. 394.) not unlike Goldcorn's horn at the same college, engraved in Archaeol. III. 19. R. G.

norum, tells us, "Celebrant antiquis carminibus Tuistonem
 "Deum, terrâ editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis con-
 "ditoresque." This Mannus the son of Tuisto, the supreme
 deity, undoubtedly gave the name to that part of the human
 species, which we and every descendant dialect of the Gothic
 call man. This puts me in mind of a very ingenious obser-
 vation of Mr. Lye in his dictionary; "Obiter hic notandum,
 "vocem *God* apud Anglo-Saxones et Deum significasse, et bo-
 "num, uti *Man*, et hominem & nequitiam." This reflection is
 certainly applicable to the Saxon, but does not avail either in the
 Gothic or English. Man, and its compounds, have no relation
 to impiety in either of these languages, but rather design a
 worthy and virtuous disposition. With the Goths the idea of
 sinning, or a violation of divine or human laws, is expressed by
Frawargan, a word compounded of the verb *wargan* (the same
 as the Saxon *weorcan*, and the English to work) and the pre-
 positive particle *fra*. This particle affixed to verbs, the Saxons
 by a small alteration softened into *for*, and using it in the same
 acceptation, conveyed it down in its pure state to the English
 language. Thus among the Saxons, *Weorthian* signifies *Esse*,
 To be; *Forweorthian*, not to be, or *perire*. *Beodan*, To order
 any thing to be done; *Forbeodan*, To order it not to be done,
 or forbid. In our own tongue we have *to swear*, and *to for-
 swear*, or swear falsely; *To get* any thing by heart, or fix it in
 the memory, and *to forget*, to let it go from the remembrance;
 and many others of the same Gothic and Saxon idiom.

UPON the same principle Gawen Douglas translates this horrid
 line of Virgil,

Thalamos ausum incestare novercae.

And had *forlyne* his awin stepmoder by.

Where

Where the word *forlyne* fully answers the idea of Virgil's *inceflare*.

BUT, I doubt, I grow tedious; shall therefore reserve some other observations I have made upon this subject to a future opportunity.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

W. DRAKE.

Iseworth.



XLI. *The Penny with the Name of Rodbertus IV. asserted to Robert Duke of Normandy; and other Matters relative to the English Coinage occasionally discussed. By the Rev. Mr. Pegge. In a Letter to Dr. William Hunter.*

Read June 25, 1778.

S I R,

FROM the mode of proceeding observed by the Society of Antiquaries in regard to their publications, it is evident, that they have no objection to reviewing any paper in the *Archaeologia*, either for the purpose of correcting errors, or the further illustration of the subject.

THE right appropriation of that curious and very elegant penny, which bears the name and title of *RODBERTVS IV.* and concerning which some doubts have arisen amongst antiquaries respecting its true proprietor, appears to me of no little consequence in regard to our English series, whether it ought to be placed immediately after the pennies of the two Williams, as belonging

belonging to Robert duke of Normandy, eldest son of the Conqueror, or degraded to the reign of king Stephen, by being ascribed to Robert, the warlike earl of Gloucester.

THIS valuable and most perfect coin, of which there is another broken and much effaced specimen in the Pembrochian cabinet, was the property of the late Mr. Thoresby, who first engraved it in his Museum. From his draught it is copied in the first plate of the Society's tables of English Silver Coins [a]. Mr. Thoresby describes it thus: "The prince on horseback, with a large sword in his hand: reverse, a flower de lis in each quarter of a cross fills the area; flowers, crescents, &c. in place also of the inscription:" He then assigns it, without scruple, to Duke Robert, in the following words: "This piece of Robert, eldest son of William the Conqueror, was found anno 1634, at Catal near Wetherby, &c." But the Society, in their plate, have introduced it after the coins of king Stephen, as if it appertained to the earl of Gloucester, base brother of Maud the empress, and the chief supporter of her party in her long contest with Stephen. By a note, however, in the explanation, it is carried back to the duke of Normandy; this being the last and settled judgement of the author of the explanation [b], and, in my opinion, a very just one.

THIS notwithstanding, our late worthy treasurer Mr. Colebrook (at the head of whose paper the piece is again engraved) esteems it a coin of the earl of Gloucester, and endeavours to maintain and confirm his opinion [c]. What I propose doing is, to examine with candour the weight of those reasons advanced by Mr. Colebrook in favour of his appropriation, and to shew that the piece, with greater probability, may be thought the property of the duke of Normandy, as Mr. Thoresby, Mr. Leake,

[a] Steph. Martin Leake, esq; has also engraved it.

[b] Dr. John Ward, or Dr. Andrew Gifford.

[c] Archaeologia, vol. IV. p. 132, seq.

and the annotator on the Society's tables imagined. And whereas Mr. Colebrook, as appears to me, has committed some capital mistakes in regard to certain other matters incidental to our nummulary affairs, I shall, as I go on, endeavour to rectify these. Indeed as the subject is of itself of a very confined nature, I would willingly make this memoir as extensively useful as I can, particularly in the nummulary walk. In this light, I flatter myself, it may prove peculiarly acceptable to you, Sir, whose cabinet, since the acquisition of our common friend Mr. Duane's collection, ranks the foremost in this kingdom, and has now possession of the coin in question, a faithful copy of which drawn and engraved by Mr. Batire, is prefixed to this memoir; and I shall be happy in not being disappointed in my expectations. Please to observe, Sir, I am here arguing from that type of the coin Mr. Colebrook has given us; we may see a different face of things by and by.

Mr. Colebrook's first observation is, "Had it been coined by Duke Robert, it must have been in the life time of one of his brothers, and, as he thought them usurpers of his right, he would have asserted it, and called himself *Rex*, and not *Dux*;" I answer, not if the coin was struck in Normandy, and belonged to the duke's specie current there. But supposing it coined in England, at some time when the duke was there, it would have been very absurd for Robert to have stiled himself *Rex* in the face of either of his brothers who were kings *de facto*; and, jealous of him as they were, would never have born with an insult of that kind. This objection is therefore invalid, and the more so because, as shall be shewn below, the penny was probably fabricated in Normandy, for the use of Robert's subjects there, in which case it would have been highly improper for him to have termed himself *king*.

Mr. Colebrook, after stating that Duke Robert had been thrice in England, 1st, A. 1077. 2dly, A. 1101. and 3dly, A. 1106, when he was brought thither a prisoner, and died in confinement,

finement, observes, "By the above account, it seems evident, "that Robert duke of Normandy had no opportunity of coining any money in England." Now Duke Robert was six or seven times in England, and some of his voyages for two or three months together [*d*]; so that upon Mr. Colebrook's supposition, that princes in these times carried their minters along with them [*e*], Duke Robert had certainly opportunity of striking money here. But as I propose to combat this notion hereafter, I shall only reply here, that the piece was probably coined in Normandy, and brought hither in some of his visits. He was twice concerned in military expeditions into Scotland, and it is extremely obvious to imagine, that the piece might be dropt near *Wetherby*, either by himself or some person of his retinue, in one of his marches northward.

I SHALL here give my reasons for thinking the piece was minted in Normandy. First, It is totally different from all our English coins, from the Norman conquest till the death of the earl of Gloucester, A. 1147, not one of these exhibiting the

[*d*] A. 1077. his father brought him hither, and sent him on a military expedition into Scotland. Sim. Dunelm. col. 977. Hoveden, p. 458. M. Westm. p. 228, &c.

A. 1091. He came hither in August and staid till near Christmas, accompanying his brother Rufus into Scotland. Chron. Sax. p. 197, seq. Flor. Vig. p. 644. M. Paris, p. 16. M. Westm. p. 252. Hoveden, p. 462. Hen. Hunt. p. 379, &c.

A. 1101. He invaded his brother Henry with force, and staid in England from Aug. 1, to Michaelmas. M. Paris, p. 58. Eadmer, p. 49. Gul. Malmfbury, p. 156. Chron. Sax. p. 209. W. Gemet. p. 675. Ord. Vitalis, p. 788, &c.

A. 1102, or 1103. Malmfbury, p. 156. Sim. Dun. col. 228. Rad. de Diceto, col. 499. H. Hunt. p. 378. Chron. Sax. 211. Hoveden, p. 470. M. Paris, p. 59, &c.

A. 1105, or 1106. Sim. Dun. col. 229. Chron. Sax. p. 213. M. Paris, p. 61. H. Hunt, p. 379. Flor. Vig. p. 652. Chron. Mailros. p. 163. Annal. Waverl. p. 143, &c.

A. 1107. He was brought hither a prisoner. Sim. Dun. col. 230. Hoveden, p. 271, &c.

[*e*] See Mr. Colebrook, p. 138, 139.

prince

prince on horseback as this penny does. It the more probably was of Norman workmanship, because equestrian figures on seals, witness that of Odo bishop of Baieux and earl of Kent [*f*], and those in Sandford, in the Norman dynasty [*g*], appear to have come to us from that country. It is more particularly observable, that the seals of William earl of Flanders, son of our duke, a Norman unconnected with England, exhibit him likewise on horseback [*h*]. This seems entirely to have been a foreign mode since Alan Fergent, *Britannorum Dux*, used the same form on his seal [*i*]. However, it is the Norman representation of our kings. Whereupon give me leave to observe, that though the coins of Duke Robert might vary from the usual types of the English coinage, those of the earl of Gloucester, we may depend upon it, would not. This, Sir, is a conclusive argument in respect of Mr. Colebrook, whatever it may be as to others, since, speaking of a penny of king Henry II, when duke, he writes, "It is most likely that Henry brought a minter with him who struck this coin, it being *more elegant and in a better taste* than any of the preceding or subsequent reigns [*k*]."

2dly, I advance, that as the effigy is in armour wearing a peaked helmet [*l*], head-pieces of this form belong to the time of Duke Robert [*m*], and were much used in Normandy, whence

[*f*] *Archaeologia*, vol. I. p. 356.

[*g*] See also the seals of Henry II. in Sandford.

[*h*] Sandford, p. 17.

[*i*] Gale, *Honor de Richmond*.

[*k*] Mr. Colebrook, p. 139.

[*l*] The annotators on the Society's tables call it a *mantle*, but this does not seem to suit with armour.—It is a helmet with a *lambrquin* flowing from it. See the tomb of Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, 1323, in Westminster abbey.

[*m*] See the coins of Edward the Confessor in Sir A. Fountaine's tables; the Norman sides of the broad seals of William I. and II. Henry I. and William earl of Flanders, in Sandford.

I infer, that if it be his money, it was probably coined in Normandy.

3dly, Mr. Colebrook admits above [n], that the final letters of the legend iv, are intended to express *Dux*, and indeed they can mean nothing else, *comes* or *consul* departing too far from the duct of the letters. But surely, Sir, this term necessarily fixes the coin to the Duke of Normandy, and thereby inforces our belief that it was minted in that country. Mr. Colebrook indeed says, "he does not find any Robert duke of Normandy[o]," which is truly most amazing, after his calling Robert, eldest son of William I, *Duke Robert* [p], and afterwards remarking in the same page from Selden that *comes* and *dux* are the same. If he means there were no sovereigns of Normandy of the name of *Robert*, history will inform us there were two before our duke; *Rollo* who had the name given him at his baptism [q], and *Robert* father of the Conqueror. If he contends that *duke* is not the proper title of those sovereigns, I need only refer to the Norman broad seals in Sandford, where *Dux* is the stile of all of them except William I. who, the inscription being metrical, happens to be called *Normannorum Patronus*, which is to be interpreted, *Normannorum Dux*. However I shall add, that our best authors generally represent Normandy as a dukedom; hence Malmesbury writes, "*Robertus alter filius Richardi Secundi postquam septem annis gloriose Ducatum Normanniae tenuit,*" &c. [r] and Matth. Paris, speaking of our Duke Robert; nephew of Odo bishop of Baieux, "*Roberto nepote suo in Du-*

[n] In his first observation; again below, on the misplacing of the letters.

[o] P. 138.

[p] P. 133.

[q] Pere Daniel II. p. 222. Hoveden, p. 610. Dado of St. Quintin, p. 84. Gul. Gemet. p. 231.

[r] Gul. Malmesbury, p. 95.

"*catu Normanniae confirmato* [1]." He accordingly files our Robert *Dux*, p. 18. 23. 29, &c. [1] In the fragment published by Mr. Camden, Robert grandfather, and William father, of our duke, are expressly stiled *Duces*, "*Herluinus quippe de Contavilla Herlettam Roberti Ducis concubinam in conjugium acceperat. . . . Gulielmus autem Dux et postea Rex, &c.* [u]" But I shall trouble you, Sir, no further in so plain a case.

THESE reasons alone, few as they are, may be thought sufficient to obviate and invalidate all Mr. Colebrook's objections to the claim of Duke Robert, to assure the coin to him preferably to the earl of Gloucester, and even to make it probable that the piece was struck in Normandy: but it may be proper nevertheless to call the rest of his observations before us.

To justify his attachment to the earl of Gloucester, and to evade the force of the argument which might be drawn from the title of *Dux* in the legend, Mr. Colebrook alledges from Mr. Selden, "that the Saxon earl was sometimes termed *Comes*, and sometimes *Dux*:" But the earl of Gloucester was neither a Danish, nor a Saxon earl; and Mr. Selden says, "*Dux* occurs but rarely for any of our earls since the Normans." And whereas Robert earl of Gloucester has this title given him by Henry Huntingdon, Hoveden, and Geoffry of Monmouth, he comments upon it so as to invalidate all their usage of the term as improper, "Neither find I the title of *Dux* or *Consul* in any legal record or instrument for an English earle, since the coming

[1] M. Paris, p. 14.

[1] He is also stiled *Dux* in his son William's epitaph. Sandford, p. 17.

[u] Camdeni Anglica, Norman. &c. p. 33. See also the Norman writers, Gul. Gemeticensis, Gul. Pistaviensis, & Ordericus Vitalis; also Henry I. himself in Eadmerus, p. 90. *Dux* was a term so common in Normandy, that Richard, next brother to our Robert, was called at the time *Bern Dux*, duke of Bernay. Sandford, p. 8.

“ of the Normans: but always *Comes*, in those kind of testimonies, “ interprets it [w].” Indeed it should be considered as a lax expression in those authors, not used in the strictness of propriety, but given to the earl of Gloucester in his capacity of a great commander, as undoubtedly he was. Infomuch that Mr. Selden you see, Sir, is at last entirely with us.

It is observed next, and a most unfortunate observation it is, “ As to the letters being misplaced on this and many other “ coins, there was nothing more common than for the minters “ of that time to mistake one letter for another. . . . In this “ of *Rodbertus*, had the *o* been put in its proper place, and the “ *r* left out, it would have been *Roberdus Dux*.” This, Sir, does not in the least affect the appropriation of the coin, since although there should be a mistake in the orthography of the name through the illiteracy or ignorance of the moneyer, yet the piece may as well be the property of the duke of Normandy as of the earl of Gloucester, both being named *Robert* [x]. Again, though we should allow the minters to have been great blundersers, as in truth they were, and as is plain from the coin in question, where *rv* is cut or stamp for *dv*, yet I shall take upon me to say, there is no orthographical error in this latinized name *Rodbertus*; on the contrary, that Mr. Colebrook is here doubly mistaken; first, in supposing *o* to be out of its place, as if the name was not often written anciently *Rodbert*, or, what is the same, *Rotbert*; and then in substituting *o* in the last syllable, so as to make it *Roberdus* instead of *Robertus*. This name is ori-

[w] Selden, Tit. of Hon. p. 635, seq. edit. 1631. The great earl of Chester, contemporary with the earl of Gloucester, only styled himself *Comes* on his seal. *Archaeologia*, IV. p. 120.

[x] It is material also, in regard to Mr. Colebrook, that Robert of Gloucester, his principal evidence in the case, calls the duke of Normandy *Roberd* as well as the earl of Gloucester.

ginally of Norman or French extraction [y], and first came to England in the person of Robert bishop of London, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of Edward the Confessor. In regard to Mr. Colebrook's first mistake, the name is perpetually written in the Saxon Chronicle, *Rodbert*, *Rotberd*, *Rotbeard*, *Rodbriht*, and *Rodbyrd*; and the name of our duke is there consequently always given *Rodbeard* or *Rotbert*, &c. as agreeable to the etymology of it to be mentioned below. I assert then, that it was thus commonly written by a numerous band of our older authors, as may be seen in the margin [z]; but in process of time, and the volubility of pronunciation, was afterwards smoothed into *Robert*, the modern orthography, just as *Roger* has been mollified from *Rodgerus* or *Rotgerus* [a]. I assume then, that *D* in our coin is not out of its place, though Mr. Colebrook insists upon it again in his two next paragraphs, as also p. 138, and that whenever it, or *T*, is omitted in that place, it is owing to men's having corrupted the name in conversation, and at last in writing, as has frequently happened both to words and names in our own and other languages.

2dly, He substitutes *D* for *T* in the last syllable. Now, I agree, that we meet with *D* in some of the forms adduced above

[y] Joh. Caius, p. 239. It occurs as early in France as A. D. 861. P. Daniel II. p. 72, and, as we have observed before, Rollo had the name given him at his baptism.

[z] Sir A. Fountaine, Tab. II. N° 9. Dugd. Mon. III. p. 233. 260. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. I. p. 336. Idem de Epif. Lond. p. 37. Textus Ross. p. 141, & 209-20, of my transcript. Sim. Dun. col. 211. et, ut puto, semper. Joh. Sarisber. p. 747. Camden, col. 181. Silas Taylor, p. 185. 200. Montfaucon, Mon. Franc. p. 17, and plate XXXIV. Malmesbury, p. 95 in marg. et p. 105, ubi *Rotbbertus* in Textu, and *Rodbertus* in marg. Wilkins, Concil. I. p. 318. 321. 322. Gul. Gemet. passim. Gul. Piſtav. p. 107 seq. Ordericus Vitalis passim. Anonym. apud Du Chesne, p. 213. Chron. Mailros, p. 146. 161. et alibi. Gale, Hon. de Richmond, App. p. 6, 7. Liber Niger, p. 406. 413, &c.

[a] Camden's Remains, p. 86.

from

from the Saxon chronicle, on a coin of king John, minted at Dublin [b], in the historical versifier Robert of Gloucester [c], and some others [d]; but I dare to affirm, that our old monkish writers in general, both English and Norman, all give it with τ; even Roger Hoveden [e], whom Mr. Colebrook erroneously vouches on his side of the question; so also the Records, Domesday Book, Liber Niger, and Textus Roffensis. *Rupert* is the same name as Robert [f], and is always written with τ; and indeed etymology corresponds with this mode of orthography only, as likewise it does with *Rod* in the first syllable. Hear Mr. Camden, "Robert, Germ. *famous in counsell*, for it is written *most anciently* [please to observe this] *Rodbert*, Rad, Red, Rod, do signifie counsell [g]:" and so bishop Gibson, "syllabae beophτ, bpuht, bepht, byphτ, five initiales five terminales. . . . deducuntur a Sax. beopτ, Goth. Bλαικτ, Isl. biartur, *clarus, lucidus, splendens, manifestus* [h]." So that it seems *Robertus* is only an easier modernization of the name, and *Roberdus* a meer vulgarity. And, as little or no regard can be paid to the few ex-

[b] Thoresby's Museum, or Nicholson, Hist. Library.

[c] He, however, in one place has Robert.

[d] Dugd. in Mon. III. p. 260, *Rotherdus*. Robert of Brunne, Hearne, Pref. to Robert of Gloucester, p. lx. Percy, Reliques of Anc. Poet. III. p. 24.

[e] He calls the earl of Gloucester *Robert* 14 times at least and never *Roberd*.

[f] Br. Twyne often calls prince Rupert, *Robert*; and see Trithemius, p. 99. Heylin, Hist. of St. George, p. 251. John Caius calls Robert Gaguin, *Rupert*, p. 139. and bishop Grossetestle is sometimes named *Rupert* and *Rubert*. Herb Robert is Geranium Rupert in Littleton's Dict. v. Sorberiana, p. 86.

[g] Camden, Remains, p. 86. and see p. 59. 65.

[h] Gibson ad Chron. Sax. in Nom. Virorum. In the old library at Peterborough, there were "Versus de descriptione nominum diversorum, ut Robert, et "Richard, et aliorum," Gunton, p. 216. perhaps the Distich in Wharton, Angl. Sacr. II. p. 326, may be thence taken

Robore vir fortis, fidei radicibus haerens.

Sic bene Robertus nomine reque valet.

ceptions, the vulgarisms, above-mentioned, one cannot but wonder that Mr. Colebrook should be so far misled by that futile late writer, Robert of Gloucester, as to say, in opposition to all this weight of evidence, which in a manner must stare him in the face, "*The usual way of spelling* at that time [temp. Steph.] "was *Roberdus* and not *Robertus*, for so Hoveden and Robert of Gloucester spell it." I say misled by Robert of Gloucester, for Hoveden's authority, as was noted above, militates uniformly against him.

AN argument is brought from the *style* or manner of the coin against Duke Robert's claim; for we are told that this style was not in use at the time he lived, but much later [i]; by which if he means the obverse, the remark is just, as to our English specie, and so the earl of Gloucester's right will be clearly excluded; but then it operates not against the duke, because the type of a prince on horseback might be, for aught we know to the contrary, the duke's usual representation on the coins of Normandy. But the reverse was probably intended: for he observes, "The reverse of this coin, and that of Eustace . . . are "alike [k]." This, it must be confessed, is the best and most plausible observation Mr. Colebrook has advanced in favour of the earl. I alledge, however, in answer, that the device in the area of the reverse, was not peculiar to Eustace, as seems to be insinuated, for it resembles *more* that on the 3d of William in the Society's plate, a coin contemporary with our duke. But still it may be asked, do not the flowers, crescents, &c. on the circle of this reverse, very much resemble those ornaments on the 2d coin of prince Eustace? This coin not being accurately given in the Society's plate, I have thought proper to exhibit a better type of it from your original.

[i] Mr. Colebrook, p. 135.

[k] *Idem* p. 138. 140.



I AM sensible, Sir, that the explainer of the table speaks of *various devices* in the circle of the prince's coin, but it appears to me to be CAIVS ON BOLOGNE. This penny of Eustace has certainly much of the air and mode of a foreign production, as we have nothing like it in the English series; it is widely different from his other penny coined in England, and may be either his as earl of Bologne, or his grandfather's, Eustace earl of Bologne. But, to dissemble nothing; there is a coin of Stephen, and another of Stephen and Henry [1], with reverses much like this under consideration, and some notice ought to be taken of them, though Mr. Colebrook has passed them by. These perhaps may be the work of some Norman, or other exotic masters, who either durst not put their names on the reverses, for fear of the penalty as not being authorised; or chose to imitate the manner of their own country in this respect.

WHEN Robert earl of Gloucester was at the head of Maud's party in king Stephen's time, Mr. Colebrook observes, " The

[1] See the last coin of Stephen in the Society's plate, and that of Stephen and Henry.

“sovereign power at this time lay as it were dormant, Stephen being in prison; and Maud not crowned, could not properly exercise that act of sovereignty, coinage, . . . And I never heard or read of any money coined by Maud.” This, Sir, does not so much concern the appropriation of our coin, as the general state of the coinage at that time; indeed we have gone over the whole ground of Mr. Colebrook’s observations respecting the penny in question, but I find him so visionary and eccentric in several other respects, as to hold it materially necessary to accompany him throughout the rest of his memoir. But before we proceed upon that business, give me leave, Sir, to represent, that the legend *RODBERTES* on the obverse of your coin as engraved at the head of this memoir, varies considerably from Mr. Colebrook’s type. I confess myself absolutely unable to decypher the letters *ES* which follow the prince’s name, and therefore can only say, that till they are satisfactorily interpreted, they determine nothing in regard to the controversy between Mr. Colebrook and me.

To return then to the passage above quoted, it is extremely weak and inadvertent to talk of such scruples, as *not being crowned*, in those irregular and distracted times, when it is confessed, that the prelates and nobles *almost all* made money [m]. Why, in such circumstances, must Maud, the empress, be excluded? Fitness and propriety here seem to be entirely out of the question. But he *never heard or read of any money coined by Maud*. I grant we have none of her specie at present, but time may hereafter bring some to light, as has happened in many like cases, which I need not mention to you, Sir. The empress, however, I am fully persuaded, had she an inclination to coin, would not have desisted out of delicacy or tenderness; that was

[m] Mr. Colebrook acknowledges this. “The prelates, earls, and barons, says he, took upon them to coin their own money according to Hoveden,” p. 137. See him again, p. 139.

not her temper. Certainly, as her son, who only claimed under her, coined money before he was crowned [a], the empress herself had no reason to be so nice and shy about it. Mr. Colebrook, I observe, talks elsewhere of Henry II, forbearing to put the *crown* on his money, for want of the regal unction and coronation [c]; but how frivolous is this, when, in the legend of that penny, he actually styles himself *Henricus Rex*; and our kings often wore other ornaments on their heads besides crowns, as helmets, &c.? One need only to suppose that the king intended to represent himself as a young man, as in fact he was. This piece then, in my opinion, was not made A. 1152 on Henry's first landing here, nor after the treaty with Stephen A. 1153, for he would not have called himself *king* at either of those times, but some years after, when he was really king, and directed a new coinage. The whole of the business is, our princes in these times were generally so soon crowned after their accession, that no money could be struck before the ceremony of the coronation had passed; but otherwise, the coronation did not constitute the king, as Mr. Colebrook seems to suggest, nor enable the sovereign one jot the more to coin money. In one word, the crown was not essential even to the regal coins.

Mr. Colebrook writes, "There were at this time [temp. Steph.] two armies in the kingdom, one headed by Robert earl of Gloucester, the other by Eustace, both of which must be paid; and the currency of money at that time was so small, that the prelates, earls, and barons, took upon them to coin their own money, according to Hoveden. This will rationally account for this coin having been struck by Robert earl of Gloucester." This passage ought to be

[a] Mr. Colebrook, p. 139.

[c] Idem, p. 139.

received with great caution. He observes, first, there were two armies to be paid. 2dly, He intimates the smallness of the currency, meaning, I presume, of the king's own legitimate money. 3dly, That this was the cause why the prelates and nobles took upon them to coin their own money. And lastly, that this accounts for earl Robert's having struck this controverted penny. But as none of these particulars are free from just exception, I shall briefly examine them in their order.

FIRST, Mr. Colebrook appears to have a wrong notion of the nature of our armies at this time. For though there were often some mercenaries in them, and Stephen in particular had a considerable number of foreigners, chiefly Flemings [p], yet the great men in the feudal system, who served on either party, brought their respective vassals with them into the field, at least for a certain time [q], and under certain restrictions, and these composed, in conjunction with the king's own dependants, the main body of the army in all civil commotions. Maud seems to have had very few stipendiaries in her party [r]. That great concourse of London citizens mustered by king Stephen [s], all went to the war, I apprehend again, without pay. The militia were at other times maintained by the country [t]; one has reason to believe that in the battle of the *standard*, Stephen did

[p] Rapin, p. 201. 203. 205. Decem Script. col. 1377. but they were ill paid. Rapin, p. 205, says, Stephen's army entirely consisted of foreign soldiers, but there were many great lords with him at Lincoln.

[q] Dr. Brady, Hist. of Engl. p. 68, seq.

[r] Rapin, p. 205.

[s] Fitz-Stephen, p. 28. As the numbers there are not only immense, but inconsistent with Peter de Blois' account, lord Lyttelton suggests in his *corrections*, that there may be an error in Peter of *quadraginta* for *quadringenta*. The numbers were almost incredible, but many appeared that were not citizens. Rapin, p. 206, and this in my opinion accounts for them.

[t] Rapin, p. 186 in not.

not

not pay a single man [u]. It is plain then, that under this constitution, no vast sums would be required, not near so much money however as Mr. Colebrook might think, for the maintenance even of *two armies*, which at this time, as was not uncommon in domestic broils, subsisted for the most part in ravaging the estates and countries of their opponents [w]. And therefore the king may easily be supposed to have specie sufficient for all his necessary disbursements, as the empress had for hers.

2dly, I know not why he suggests the king's currency to have been small, as "in king Stephen's time, according to the learned author of the annotations on Rapin, there seems to have been a great deal of money coined;" 'tis true not much of Stephen's money has come down to us, and what we have is but mean in its kind, but still the historians do not particularly descant on his poverty, or the want of his specie, except at one particular conjuncture [x]; and therefore the scanty appearance of it at this day may be resolved into other very different causes, viz. the badness and clumsiness of it [y], and the various regulations of the coin in the next reign, which together might occasion a considerable part of Stephen's money to be recoined.

3dly, It may be doubted also, whether the scarcity of Stephen's legal specie was the cause of the prelates and nobles assuming to themselves the privilege of coining. This might be rather owing to the distractions and licentiousness of the times, when, as profit and advantage were to be gained by erecting mints, and the king was so embarrassed as not to be able to controul

[u] Rapin, p. 203.

[w] Idem. p. 208.

[x] Idem. p. 208.

[y] Stephen at one time is said to have made his own money lighter. Malmſbury, p. 185.

such incroachments and usurpations, or perhaps was glad to overlook them in order to make the delinquents his friends [a], these invaders of the prerogative, meaning those who were really invaders, and had not a proper authority by grant, as I presume some might have [a], took advantage of the situation of affairs, and ventured to coin money [b].

THE last suggestion, that this accounts for earl Robert's having struck the penny in question, would indeed be much to Mr. Colebrook's purpose, if one had any ground for thinking, that he, amongst the other usurpers, set up a mint. But this, I doubt, is equally precarious with the former particulars. First, The exercising and working of mints, without licence, was an usurpation, as all must acknowledge, and earl Robert would be little disposed to countenance it by his own practice, as in the event it would prove prejudicial to the prerogative of his sister. 2dly, He had no occasion to begin and establish a mint himself, as he acted under his sister Maud, whose business it was to supply him with whatever sums were wanting for her service. 3dly, One cannot easily imagine where he could have a mint in England, as all his estates there were confiscated, except two castles [c]. Therefore, though one cannot pretend absolutely to deny that the earl of Gloucester coined money in this turbulent reign, when so many others, and even his inferiors, did, yet one would wish to see some evidence of it, some better proof than this very dubious and controverted penny.

MR. Colebrook thinks, " It is not unreasonable to suppose, " that the minters made a part of the king's equipage when he

[a] Rapin, p. 205.

[a] Assemblage of coins of the archbishops of Canterb. p. 85. Quo warranto 3 Edw. III. The grant to Rob. de Cayncto is extant in the Archives at Lincoln.

[b] Rapin, p. 205.

[c] Ibid. p. 203.

" travelled,

"travelled, for there was not money enough in the kingdom
"to make so many mints necessary as we find in our early
"coins." He advances again, p. 140, "There certainly being
"no fixed place for a mint at that time," 26 Henry II. And
once more, below in that page, that, during the troublesome
times of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry VI, and Edward IV,
"there could be no fixed place of mintage, but they carried their
"puncheons from one place to another." This, Sir, reaches
out to us what I conceive to be a most false idea of the matter,
and indeed is pregnant with mistakes; it is not only *gratis dictum*,
but absolutely repugnant to the short memorials we have of our
more ancient mints, and even to the present appearances on the
coins themselves.

KING Athelstan, in his regulation A. 928, appoints the cities
and towns where mints should be established, determines the
number of offices to be opened at each place, and prohibits the
coining money butan popte, that is, *extra portam*, or *extra oppi-*
dum [d]. However, there were many other mints then, or soon
after erected, which are not noticed in the regulation [e]. It
appears from Domesday Book, that dyes were sent from Lon-
don for the use of the inferior offices at a distance, and a duty
paid for them [f]. Mr. Camden informs us, that king Hen-
ry II, granted liberty of coining in certain cities and abbeys [g].
Robert of Brunne makes the name of the place essential to the
king's legal specie in Edward the First's time.

The Kynge's side falle be the Hede and his name writen.

The Croyce side *what Cite* it was coyned and smyten [b].

[d] Assemblage of Coins of Archbishops of Cant. p. 51, seq.

[e] Ibidem, p. 56.

[f] Ibidem, p. 88.

[g] Ibidem, p. 91. or Mr. Leake, p. 53.

[b] Hearne's Pref. to Robert of Gloucester, p. lxi. or Stowe, Chron. p. 201.

MR. Colebrook, by the way, asserts in direct opposition to this description of our old obverses, that the minters "filled up the vacancy in the circle round the head with devices of their own, their business being to put a circle of some sort round the head [i]." This, Sir, is not only obtruded upon us without any voucher, but is totally irreconcilable with our specimens in the Society's first and second table: but to return, I shall not be so refractory as to deny, that sovereigns, when on distant expeditions, might have a minter in their retinue, or more than one; or, that in extreme exigence, as in the case of king Charles I, in his distresses, such a thing might be; but then this is not inconsistent with our mints being settled, in a common way, in cities and towns; wherefore to contend generally, as Mr. Colebrook does, that the minters always attended the kings when they travelled only from place to place, and that there were no permanent offices in cities and towns, when we know they had both exchanges and courts there belonging to them [k], is most outrageous, and contrary to all our received notions concerning the state and condition of our more early coinage. Can any one seriously imagine, that our kings were present at all those places where their money was coined? This could not be possible, even in the reign of Henry II, so peaceable in regard to his civil administration; and we have less ground for supposing it during the contests between Richard II, and Henry IV, or those between Henry VI, and Edward IV, for the mints being numerous, and carried on in various places, some of the places would naturally be on one side, and some on the other [l], by which means all the parties might enjoy a competent supply of currency.

[i] Mr. Colebrook, p. 133.

[k] Somner, *Antiq. of Cant.* p. 64.

[l] This we are told was the case in king Stephen's time. Rapin, p. 205.

To go next on the coins: The names of a great number of places appear on them, from the reign of Athelstan, to go no higher, to that of Edward the Confessor, both inclusive; but to cut the matter short, I shall only observe, that, from my respectable friend Mr. Gough's copious catalogue of the coins of Canute, it appears, this prince had money coined at no less than twenty different cities and towns, and had many masters at several of them. The case was much the same after the Norman Conquest, a considerable list of places appearing on the specie of the two Williams [m], and on that of Henry III; and we have no reason to think matters were at all altered, as to this point, in the intermediate reigns, as the business of the *Miles Argentarius*, temp. Henry II, was "examinare pecunias regi solutas, propterea quod in multis locis et diverse admodum cudebantur [n]." But Mr. Colebrook himself acknowledges the abundance of mints existing in these times; for he remarks, "There was not money enough in the kingdom to make so many mints necessary as we find in our early coins;" no more therefore need be said as to this point. But then as to his position, that *there was not money in the kingdom to make so many mints necessary*, it is certainly very unwary, not to say too bold, since the mints which appear on the coins, numerous as they were, were all wrought, as is evident from ocular demonstration, notwithstanding his confident assertion. I do not pretend to know what quantity of specie there might be in the kingdom in those times, perhaps, at a random guess, 200,000 £. or upwards [o]: moreover,

[m] At a random guess more than 30.

[n] Nicholson, Hist. Libr. p. 253.

[o] Richard I, in whose time money did not probably abound more than in the preceding reigns, covenanted to pay 150,000 marks for his ransom, which can scarcely be thought one half of the running cash of the nation; and 300,000 marks is equal to 200,000 £. The Conqueror left 60,000 £. in money, besides plate and jewels of

over, it should be considered in the case, that as no larger pieces than pennies were issued from the mints, and the rude workmen of those ages, as we must suppose, were not remarkable for their dispatch; the sum of 200,000*l.* would necessarily employ a large number of hands to coin it, and afterwards to keep up a proper supply. The conclusion is, that there was at this time a great deal of coined money in the nation, more probably than Mr. Colebrook was aware of, and what would require all the offices to be kept at work.

Mr. Colebrook informs us, he had "seen a coin of Edward IV, " with a B on the breast for Bristol, and the reverse hath been " CIVITAS LONDON [*p*]," and this he thinks an argument, that, in the disputes between the houses of York and Lancaster, " there could be no fixed place for mintage, but they carried " their puncheons or hammers from one place to another." I do not in the least impeach Mr. Colebrook's testimony [*q*]; at the same time I am persuaded that the number of our mints were at this period greatly diminished. But what does this singular phaenomenon amount to? It seems only to prove, that, in some urgent necessity, a mint-master of London, borrowed and applied an obverse of Bristol, or, *vice versa*, that a master of

of much greater value, in his treasury. Rufus did not want money for all necessary and even great purposes. A. 1105, Henry I, carried plenty of gold and silver with him to Normandy. Sim. Dun. col. 229. Brompton, col. 998. Stephen laid hold of Henry the First's treasure, (Diceto, col. 505.) 100,000 marks or pounds, besides plate and jewels; (Rapin, p. 201.) and Henry II. gave at once, for the relief of Jerusalem, 42,000 marks of silver, and 500 of gold. Walsingham, p. 451. So that these five sovereigns, though often distressed, and often oppressors of their subjects, had a great deal of money passing through their hands.

[*p*] Mr. Colebrook, p. 140.

[*q*] I shall rather confirm it by observing, that you, Sir, have a coin of Edward IV, struck at Coventry, with B upon the breast, and another of the Confessor coined at Leicester, with the York annulet on the reverse.

Bristol used a London reverse. The coin was clearly struck at one of those places, and nothing can possibly be collected from it in proof of his ambulatory puncheons or hammers; on the contrary, it decides against them.

He suggests further, in support of the credibility of the moveable puncheons, "The device of this [earl Robert's penny], and "that of Eustace, might equally suit any place they wanted to "coin money at." I shall add to these the last coin of Stephen in the Society's table, where the circle on the reverse affords neither name of place or minter, but is decorated much in the same manner as those specified by Mr. Colebrook, with various devices. This, Sir, is the only regal coin we have of this peculiar form. But what can one infer from a single instance in behalf of general custom and practice? May not it be reasonably asked, if this was such a commodious circumstance, why did not the other sovereigns make use of it? why did they not *always* do it, particularly Stephen, of whose coins there is only one of this type? Certainly, Sir, when these things are duly considered, one has reason to conclude this penny of Stephen to be more a singularity than the product of any established and common usage, for gentlemen to collect the existence of such custom solely from it [*r*]. Nor can a mode be inferred from the similar reverses of the pennies of Robert and Eustace, concerning which we have ventured to offer a conjecture before [*s*], for the custom undoubtedly was, and I can almost pronounce universally, both in the Saxon and the Post-Normannic times, for the mintmasters to put their own names and the place of coinage in the circle, or the area, of reverses; and valid and substantial reasons there were for it, *viz.* that they were responsible for the weight

[*r*] Might it not be the work of some usurper who durst not put his name?

[*s*] See above, p. 400.

and

and purity of the specie [*t*], and that under the severest and most horrible penalties [*u*]. So far were the ancient kings from carrying dyes with them adaptable to every place, as Mr. Colebrook insinuates, that the practice of expressing the place of coinage on reverses prevailed long after the times here spoken of, as is testified both by Robert de Brunne, whose lines are produced above, and by the coins themselves: it subsisted even after *indentures* began to be made.

MR. Colebrook, at the close of his paper, has thought proper to say something on the coins of Henry II, in general; that in his 2d year he made a new coinage, and cites Hoveden for it, adding, "Again, in the 26th year of his reign, he [Hoveden] says, *Henricus rex pater novam fecit monetam in Anglia, et monetarios redemit propter corruptionem veteris monetæ* [*w*]. "*Monetarios redemit*, I translate *hired new minters*, because the old ones had debased the coin [*x*];" but he is as unfortunate in his interpretation of this passage as in his surmise about the ambulatory mints, for the word *redimo* in the monkish writers does not signify *to hire*, but *to punish by fine*, though the glossaries do not notice it in this sense. Hoveden, who must be the best expositor of himself, says, speaking of the accession of Richard I, and his dealings with Stephen de Turonis, that he put him in prison, and even in irons, demanding of him the castles and his father's treasure, which the said Stephen had in keeping, and then adds, "*quibus traditis, comes Richardus redemit eum usque ad novissimum quadrantem* [*y*]:" so that he not only imprisoned

[*t*] *Assemblage of Metrop. Coins*, p. 14. 68.

[*u*] *Ibid.* p. 73. seq. See also *Gul. Gemet.* p. 303. *Alured Beverl.* p. 147. 150. and next paragraph here.

[*w*] Hoveden, p. 597.

[*x*] *Ibidem*, p. 654.

[*y*] *Ibidem*, p. 746.

Stephen,

Stephen, but *fined* him severely, for nothing else but *fining* can be meant here. Where he relates again, king Richard's proceedings in Anjou, the words are "et redemit omnes baillivos suos, id est, ad redemptionem coegit [z]," a passage most decisive. However, I shall produce another authority for this sense of the word, M. Paris, who has actually joined the two words *redimere* and *punire* together in the following sentence: "Cives Londinenses, qui graviter de quibusdam enormitatibus coram rege accusabantur, redempti et multiformiter puniti, vix reconciliantur [a]." It appears then, that *monetarios redemit* above is the same as *ad redemptionem coegit* [b], and that by *monetarios* new mint-masters are not intended, but the old ones, who, being delinquents, were fined for their misdemeanours. And this is also conformable to the truth of history, the old minters being actually punished by *fining* at this time, Rad. de Diceto testifying, that the foreigner Phil. de Agmari *sine nota minime repatriavit* [c], and Gervase Dorob. telling us, that others were most grievously harrassed and fined; "MCLXXX Persecutio gravissima facta est in Trapenetas Angliae qui monetam nimia corrumperant falsitate; qui praeter alias vexationes varias com-
pedibus colligati, duo et duo simul in catectis ad curiam regis ducebantur [d];" where in the expression *alide vexationes varias*, *fining* seems necessarily to be included. But now, on the other hand, we hear nothing of any new masters taken into the king's service at this juncture, but Agmari, who was one of the

[z] M. Paris, p. 963.

[a] And so Mr. Stowe understood it, p. 156. So Mr. Martin-Leake, p. 43, and others.

[b] So Stowe again.

[c] Rad. de Diceto, col. 611.

[d] Gervas. Dorob. col. 1457.

offenders, and was stigmatized accordingly. If then *redimere* does not denote *hiring* in Hoveden's passage, all that follows in Mr. Colebrook about *indentures* is superfluous, and nothing to the purpose.

BEFORE I dismiss this regulation, 26 Henry II, give me leave, Sir, to present you with another small matter of criticism concerning it. Stephen Martin-Leake, esq; in his useful book on our English money, observes, that Henry in that year, "altered the coin which was corrupted by counterfeiters, by the *traporites* or *usurers*, who were grievously punished [e]." Stowe gives the same word and the same interpretation [f], and probably Mr. Martin-Leake took it from him. But now, Sir, there is no such word, as far as I can find, as *traporites*, nor does the word, whatever it may be, signify *usurers*, but *coiners*. It ought to be amended *trapenites*, or rather *trapenitae*, for Gervasius, col. 1457, uses that very word on the occasion; so that we only need to suppose Stowe to have misread *o* for *e*, and *r* for *x*, mistakes easy enough to be committed. *Trapenitae* here, in the next place, denotes *coiners*, as is evident from Hoveden's passage above, where they are called *monetarij*, as they are likewise in Alured of Beverley [g]. The genuine original sense of the word was doubtless *changers of money*, but as mints and exchanges were correlative [h], it came thence to be used sometimes for *minters*, as Du Fresne will shew [i]. Besides, the annals of Waverley term the pennies reprobated at this time *base-leres*, base pieces, much below the standard [k], which cannot

[e] Mr. Leake, p. 53.

[f] Stowe, p. 155.

[g] Alured. Beverl. p. 150.

[h] Somner, Antiq. Canterb. p. 64.

[i] Du Fresne, in voce. See also Gul. Gemetic. p. 303.

[k] Annal. Waverl. p. 161.

apply

apply to *exchangers*, who could only clip and diminish and not adulterate it as the minters could, and were but too apt to do.

I AM not without my fears, Sir, lest this velitation has proved too prolemical to afford you so much entertainment as I could wish. The apology must be, that it was not possible to lay open the many novel and erroneous conceptions Mr. Colebrook has imbibed and vended, with temper, moderation, and impartiality, objects which I trust have constantly been kept in view, without producing his own words on every occasion, and sifting them critically and minutely. Permit me again to alledge, that whatever may befall the merits of the first question, whether the coin belongs to the duke or the earl, the enquiry has nevertheless furnished an opportunity of rectifying the crude and mistaken notions advanced by Mr. Colebrook concerning some other very material points relative to our English coinage. One thing I much applaud in Mr. Colebrook's paper, which is the account there given of the method they formerly took in making their dyes. This indeed is curious, and for any thing I, who am so little acquainted with the mechanical part of coining, can tell, may be agreeable to truth, and we are consequently obliged to him for it.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

SAM. PEGGE.

Whittington, Dec. 18, 1777.

XLII. *Observations on the earliest Introduction of
Clocks: By the Honourable Daines Barrington. In
a Letter to the Honourable Mr. Justice Blackstone.*

Read December 17, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

AS I know you are somewhat interested with regard to the period when those useful measurers of time called clocks were first made, I send you the result of my inquiries on that head, after having consulted most of those treatises which might be supposed to furnish material information.

EARLIER instances might be produced from these authorities of *Horologia* in different parts of Europe; but this word signifying in those centuries *dials* as well as *clocks*, nothing decisive can be inferred from such term, unless from other circumstances, or expressions, it can be shewn to relate to a clock rather than a dial.

DANTE seems to be the first author who hath introduced the mention of an *orologio*, *which struck the hour* (and consequently cannot be a dial), in the following lines:

“ Indi

" Indi come horologio che ne cbiami,

" Nel hora che la sposa d'Idio surge,

" Amattinar lo sposo, perche l'ami."

Dante. Paradiso, C. x.

Now Dante was born in 1265, and died in 1321, aged 57: therefore striking clocks could not have been very uncommon in Italy at the latter end of the 13th century, or the very beginning of the 14th.

BUT the use of clocks was not confined to Italy at this period; for we had one of these artists in England precisely about the same time, who furnished the famous clock-house near Westminster-hall, with a clock to be heard by the courts of law, out of a fine imposed on the Chief Justice of the King's Bench in the 16th year of Edward I, or A. D. 1288 [a].

You have in your Commentaries [b] observed, that this punishment of Radulphus de Hengham is first taken notice of in the Year Book [c] during the reign of Richard III, where indeed no mention is made of a clock's being thus paid for; but if the circumstances stated in the report of this case are considered, it was highly unnecessary, and perhaps improper, to have alluded to this application of the Chief Justice's fine.

IT appears by the Year Book, that Richard III. had closeted the Judges in the *Inner* Star Chamber, to take their opinions upon three points of law; the second of which was, " Whether a Justice of the Peace, who had inrolled an indictment which had been negatived by the Grand Jury, amongst the *true bills*, might be punished for this abuse of his office."

[a] See Selden in his Pref. to Hengham.

[b] Vol. III. p. 408.

[c] Mich. 2. Ric. 3.

ON this question a diversity of opinion arises amongst the Judges, some of which suppose, that a magistrate cannot be prosecuted for what he may have done; whilst others contend, that he may, and cite the case of Hengham, who was fined 800 marks for making an alteration in a record, by which a poor defendant was only to pay 6*s.* 8*d.* instead of 13*s.* 4*d.*

THUS far the answer of the Judges to the question proposed was strictly proper; but the application of the fine to the building a clock-house [*d*] was not the least material; besides that it was probably a most notorious fact to every student upon his first attending Westminster-hall, as we find Judge Southcote so much later, in the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, not only mentioning the tradition, but that the clock still continued there, which had been furnished out of the Chief Justice's fine [*e*]. Sir Edward Coke likewise adds, that the 800 marks were actually entered upon the roll [*f*], so that it is highly probable he had himself seen the record.

BUT we have remaining to this day some degree of evidence not only of the existence of such a clock, but that it is of the antiquity already ascribed to it, *viz.* the reign of Edward the First.

ON the side of New Palace-yard which is opposite to Westminster-hall, and in the second pediment of the new buildings from the Thames, a dial is inserted with this remarkable motto upon it, "*Discite Jusitiam Moniti,*" which seems most clearly

[*d*] We find that this clock was considered during the reign of Henry VI. to be of such consequence, that the king gave the keeping of it, with the appurtenances, to William Warby, dean of St. Stephen's, together with the pay of 6*d.* per diem, to be received at the Exchequer. See Stowe's account of Westminster, vol. II. p. 55. The clock at St. Mary's, Oxford, was also furnished in 1523, out of fines imposed on the students of the university.

[*e*] 3 Inst. 72.

[*f*] 4 Inst. p. 255.

to relate to the fine imposed on Radulphus de Hengham, being applied to the paying for a clock.

BUT it may be said, that this inscription is on a dial and not upon a clock; which, though it appears upon the first stating it to be a most material objection, yet I conceive it may receive the following satisfactory answer.

THE original clock of Edward the First's reign was probably a very indifferent one; but from its great antiquity, and the tradition attending it, was still permitted to remain till the time of Queen Elizabeth according to the authorities already cited.

AFTER this, it being quite decayed, a dial might have been substituted and placed upon the same clock-house, borrowing its very singular motto; which, whether originally applied in the time of Edward the First, or in later reigns, most plainly alludes to Hengham's punishment for the altering a record.

IT should also be mentioned, that this dial seems to have been placed exactly where the clock-house stood according to Strype [g].

MR. Norris, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, hath been likewise so obliging as to refer me to the following instance of a very ancient clock in the same century:

" ANNO 1292, *Novum* Orologium Magnum in Ecclesia (sc. Cantuariensi) pretium 30*l.* [b].

I SHALL now produce a proof, that not only clocks but watches were made in the beginning of the 14th century.

SEVEN or eight years ago, some labourers were employed at Bruce castle in Fifeshire, where they found a watch, together with some coin; both of which they disposed of to a shopkeeper

[g] Westminster, p. 55, in his additions to Stowe. This clock-house continued in a ruined state till the year 1715.—Antiquarian Repertory, p. 280.

[b] Dart's Canterbury, Appendix, p. 3, ex Bibl. Cotton. Galba, E. 4, fol. 103.

of St. Andrews, who sent the watch to his brother in London, considering it as a curious piece of antiquity [i]. The outer case is of silver, raised, in rather a handsome pattern, over a ground of blue enamel; and I think I can distinguish a cypher of R. B. at each corner of the enchaîned work. On the dial-plate is written, *Robertus B. Rex Scottorum*, and over it is a convex transparent horn, instead of the glasses which we use at present.

Now *Robertus B. Rex Scottorum* can be no other king of Scotland than Robert Bruce, who began his reign in 1305, and died in 1329; for the christian name of Baliol who succeeded him was Edward; nor can *Robertus B.* be applied to any later Scottish king.

THIS very singular watch is not of a larger size than those which are now in common use; at which I was much surprised till I had seen several of the 16th century in the collection of Sir Ashton Lever, and Mr. Ingham Forster, which were considerably smaller.

As I mean to deduce the progress of the art of clock-making in a regular chronological series, the next mention I find of *Horologia*, is in Rymer's *Foedera*, where there is a protection of Edward the Third, A. D. 1368, to three Dutchmen, who were *Orlogiers*. The title of this protection is, "De Horologiorum Artificio exercendo;" and I hope to have sufficiently proved that there was no necessity of procuring mere dial-makers at this time.

CLOCK-makers, however, were really wanted at this period of the 14th century, as may be inferred from the following lines of Chaucer [k], when he speaks of a cock's crowing:

[i] It is now in his majesty's possession.

[k] Chaucer was born A. D. 1328, and died in 1400.

" Full fikerer was his crowing in his loge,
" As is a *clock*, or any abbey orloge."

By which (as I conceive at least) our old poet means to say, that the crowing was as certain as a *bell*, or abbey *clock* [1]. For though we at present ask so often, What is it *o'clock*? (meaning the time measurer) yet I should rather suppose, that in the 14th century, *clock* was often applied to a *bell*, which was rung at certain periods, determined by the hour-glass or sun-dial. Nor have I been able to stumble upon any passage which alludes to a clock, by that name, earlier than the 13th of Henry VIII. [m].

THE *abbey orloge* (or clock) however, must have been not uncommon when Chaucer wrote these lines, and from their beginning to be in use, we might have occasion for more artificers in this branch; though it should seem, that we had Englishmen who pretended, at least, to understand it, because the protection of Edward the Third, above cited, directs, that they shall not *be molested* whilst they are thus employed.

[1] To the time of Queen Elizabeth clocks were often called orologes;

" He'll watch the *horologe a double set*,
" If drink rock not his cradle."

Othello, act ii. sc. 3.

By which the *double set* of 12 hours on a clock is plainly alluded to, as not many more than 12 can be observed on a dial; and in the same tragedy, this last time-measurer is called by its proper name:

" More tedious than the dial eight-score times."

Ibid. act iii. sc. 4.

The clock of Wells cathedral is also to this day called the *horologe*.

[m] See Dugd. Orig. Jur. Lydgate, therefore, who wrote before the time of Henry VIII, says,

" I will myself be your *orlogere*
" To-morrow early."

Prologue to the Storye of Thebes.

I NOW pass on to a famous astronomical clock, made by one of our countrymen in the reign of Richard the Second, the account of which I have extracted from Leland.

RICHARD of Walingford was son of a smith, who lived at that town, and who, from his learning and ingenuity, became abbot of St. Alban's. Leland proceeds, "cum jam per amplas licebat fortunas, voluit illustri aliquo opere, non modo ingenii, verum etiam eruditionis, ac artis excellentis, miraculum ostendere. Ergo talem *horologii* fabricam magno labore, majore sumptu, arte vero maximâ, compegit, qualem non habet tota Europa *med opinione*, secundum, sive quis cursum solis ac lunae, seu fixa sidera notet, sive iterum maris incrementa & decrementa [n]."

RICHARD of Walingford also wrote a treatise on this clock, "Ne tam insignis machina vilesceret errore monachorum, aut incognito structuræ ordine, flescere."

FROM what hath been above stated it appears, that this astronomical clock continued to go in Leland's time, who was born at the latter end of Henry the Seventh's reign, and who speaks of a tradition, that this famous piece of mechanism was called *Albion* by the inventor.

HAVING thus endeavoured to prove that clocks have been made in England from the time of Edward the First to that of Richard the Second, it is not essential to my principal purpose to deduce them lower through the successive reigns; but when I have shortly stated what I happen to have found with regard to this useful invention in other parts of Europe, I shall attempt to shew why they were not more common in the 13th and 14th centuries.

[n] Leland de Script. Brit.

THE citation from Dante, which I have before relied upon, shews, that they were not unknown in Italy during that period; and M. Falconet (in the *Memoires de Litterature*) informs us, that a James Dondi, in the 14th century, assumed, from a clock made by him for the tower of a palace, the name of *horologius*, which was afterwards borne by his descendants.

IN France (or what is now so called) Froissart mentions, that during the year 1332, Philip the Hardy, duke of Burgundy, removed from Courtray to his capital at Dijon, a famous clock which struck the hours, and was remarkable for its mechanism [a].

THE great clock at Paris was put up in the year 1370, during the reign of Charles the Fifth, having been made by *Charles de Wic*, a German [b].

CARPENTIER, in his supplement to Du-Cange, cites a decision of the Parliament of Paris, A. D. 1413, in which Henry Bye (one of the parties) is styled *Gubernator Horologii palatii nostri Parisiis* [c].

ABOUT the same time also the clock at Montargis was made, with the following inscription,

Charles le Quint (sc. de France)

Me fit par Jean de Jouvence.

which seems to be the name of a Frenchman.

THOUGH I have not happened to meet with any mention of very early clocks in Germany, yet from the great clock at Paris in 1370, being the work of De-Wic, as also from the protection granted by Edward the Third to three clock-makers from Delft, it should seem, that this part of Europe was not without this

[a] Froissart, t. ii. ch. 127.

[b] Falconet, Mem. de Litt. t. 20.

[c] See Carpentier, Art. *Horologior.*

useful invention [*r*]; and the same may be inferred with regard to Spain, from their old saying,

Estar como un reloj [*s*].

HAVING now produced instances of several clocks, and even a watch, which were made in different parts of the 14th century, as also having endeavoured to prove that they were not excessively uncommon even in the 13th, it may be thought necessary that I should account for their not being more generally used during these periods, as, in their present state at least, they are so very convenient. For this, it should seem, that many reasons may be assigned.

IN the infancy of this new piece of mechanism, they were probably of a very imperfect construction, perhaps never went tolerably, and were soon deranged, whilst there was no one within a reasonable distance to put them in order.

To this day the most musical people have seldom a harpsichord in their house, if the tuner cannot be procured from the neighbourhood.

[*r*] Mr. Peckett, an ingenious apothecary of Compton-street, Soho, hath shewn me an astronomical clock which belonged to the late Mr. Ferguson, and which still continues to go. The workmanship on the outside is elegant, and it appears to have been made by a German in 1525, by the subjoined inscription in the Bohemian of the time:

IAR. DA. MAHCHT. MICH. IACOB. ZECH.
ZV. PRAG. IST. BAR. DAMAN. ZALT. 1525.

The above englished.

YEAR. WHEN. MADE. ME. IACOB. ZECH.
AT. PRAGUE. IS. TRUE. WHEN. COUNTED. 1525.

The diameter of this clock is 9 inches $\frac{1}{2}$, and the height 5 inches.

[*s*] I am also referred by the Rev. Mr. Bowle, F. S. A. to the following passage in the abridged History of Spain:

"The first clock seen in Spain was set up in the cathedral of Seville 1400."
Vol. I. p. 568.

WE

WE find, therefore, that Henry the Sixth of England, and Charles the Fifth of France, appointed clock-makers, with a stipend, to keep the Westminster and Paris clocks in order.

It need scarcely be observed also, that as the artists were so few, their work must have been charged accordingly, and that kings only could be the purchasers of what was rather an expensive toy, than of any considerable use. And it may perhaps be said, that they continued in a great measure to be no better than toys till the middle of the 17th century.

ADD to this, that in the 13th and 14th centuries, there was so little commerce, intercourse, or society, that an hour-glass, or the sun, was very sufficient for the common purposes, which are now more accurately settled by clocks of modern construction. Dials and hour-glasses likewise wanted no mending.

HAVING now finished what hath occurred to me with regard to the first introduction of clocks, I shall conclude by a few particulars, which I have been enabled to pick up, in relation to those more portable measurers of time, called *watches*, the earliest of which (except that of Robert Bruce King of Scotland) seems to be one in Sir Ashton Lever's most valuable museum, the date upon which is 1541 [1].

DERHAM (in his *Artificial Clock-maker*, published in 1714) mentions a watch of Henry the Eighth, which was still in order; and Dr. Demainbray informs me, that he hath heard both Sir Isaac Newton and Demoivre speak of this watch [u].

[1] The oldest clock we have in England that is supposed to go tolerably, is of the preceding year, viz. 1540, the initial letters of the maker's name being N. O. It is in the palace at Hampton Court. Derham's *Artificial Clock-maker*.

[u] That distinguished antiquary Mr. Walpole has in his possession a clock, which appears by the inscription to have been a present from Henry the Eighth to Anne Boleyn. Poynt, bishop of Winchester, likewise gave an astronomical clock to the same king. Godwyn de Praesul.

THE emperor Charles the Fifth (Henry's contemporary) was so much pleased with these time-measurers, that he used to sit after his dinner with several of them on the table, his bottle being in the center [*w*]; and when he retired to the monastery of St. Just, he continued still to amuse himself with keeping them in order, which is said to have produced a reflection from him on the absurdity of his attempt to regulate the motions of the different powers of Europe.

SOME of the watches used at this time seem to have been strikers; at least we find in the *Memoirs of Literature* [*x*], that such watches having been stolen both from Charles the Fifth and Lewis the Eleventh, whilst they were in a croud, the thief was detected by their striking the hour.

IN most of the more ancient watches (of which I have seen several in the collection of Sir Ashton Lever and Mr. Ingham Forster) catgut supplied the place of a chain, whilst they were commonly of a smaller size than we use at present, and often of an oval form [*y*].

FROM these and probably many other imperfections they were not in any degree of general request till the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign; accordingly in Shakespear's *Twelfth Night* [*z*], Malvolio says,

"I frown the while, and perchance *wind up my watch*, or
"play with some rich jewel."

AGAIN in the first edition of Harrington's *Orlando Furioso* (printed in 1591), the author is represented with what seems to

[*w*] *Mem. de Litt.* t. 20. See also the lately published *Collection of State Papers*, vol. I. p. 53.

[*x*] *T.* 20.

[*y*] Pancirollus informs us, that about the end of the 15th century, watches were made no larger than an almond, by a man whose name was Mermecide. *Encyclop.*

[*z*] *Act* ii. sc. 2.

be a watch, (though the engraving is by no means distinct) on which is written,

Il tempo passa [a].

IN the 3d of James the First, a watch was found upon Guy Fawkes, which he and Percy had bought the day before, "to try conclusions for the long and short burning of the touch-wood, with which he had prepared to give fire to the train of powder [b]."

IN 1631 Charles the First incorporated the clock-makers; and the charter prohibits *clocks*, *watches*, and *alarms*, from being imported, which sufficiently proves that they were now more commonly used, as well as that we had artists of our own, who were expert in this branch of business.

ABOUT the middle of the 17th century, Huygens made his great improvement in clock-work, which produced many others from our own countrymen [c]; the latest of which was the introduction of repeating watches in the time of Charles the Second, who, as I have been informed by the late lord Bathurst, sent one of the first of these new inventions to Lewis XIV.

THE former of these kings was very curious with regard to these time-measurers; and I have been told by an old person of the trade, that watch-makers (particularly East) used to attend whilst he was playing at the Mall, a watch being often the stake.

[a] Somner's Canterbury, Supplement, N° XIV. p. 36. See also in an extract from archbishop Parker's will, made April 5, 1575:

"Do, et lego fratri meo Ricardo episcopo Eliensi, baculum meum de canna Indica, qui *Horologium* habet in summitate."

As likewise in the brief of his goods, &c. N° XIV. p. 39.

"A clock, valued at 54*l.* 4*s.*" See the same brief.

[b] Stowe's Chron. p. 878. and Introd. to Mr. Reuben Burrow's Almanack for 1778.

[c] More particularly Dr. Hooke, Tompion, &c.

BUT

BUT we have a much more curious anecdote of royal attention to watches in Dr. Derham's Artificial Clock-maker.

BARLOW had procured a patent, in concert with the Lord Chief Justice Allebone, for *repeaters*; but Quare making one at the same time upon ideas he had entertained before the patent was granted, James the Second tried both, and giving the preference to Quare's, it was notified in the Gazette [d].

IN the succeeding reign, the reputation of the English work in this branch was such, that in the year 1698, an act passed, obliging the makers to put their names on watches, lest discreditable ones might be sold abroad for English [e].

If any of these particulars, or anecdotes, should prove interesting to you, it will amply recompence the trouble I may have had in collecting them; being

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

[d] Derham's Art. Cl. p. 107.

[e] 9 & 10 W. III. ch. 28 §. 2.

XLIII. *A Survey of Nonsuch House and Park, cum pertinentiis, Anno Domini 1650.*

Read November 26, 1778.

From the Original in the Augmentation Office.

A SURVEY of the capitall messuage and royall mansion house, commonly called Nonsuch, and of the Parke wherein it stands, and of all the houses and lands thereunto belonging, situate lying and being in the county of Surry, late percell of the possessions and joynture lands of Henrietta Maria, the relict and late wife of Charles Stuart, late king of England, made and taken by us whose names are hereunto subscribed, in the month of April, anno Domini 1650, by virtue of a commission grounded upon an act of the Commons assembled in parliament for the sale of the honors, manors, and lands of the late king, queen, and prince, under the hands and seals of five or more of the trustees in the said act named and appointed:

ALL that capitall messuage or royall mansion house, with the appurtenances, commonly called Nonsuch, scytuate, standing and being in or near the middle parte of the little Parke of Nonsuch in the said county of Surry, consisting of one fayer stronge and large structure or building of free stone of two large stories high,

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well wrought and battled with stone and covered with blue slate, standing round a court of 150 foote long and 132 foote broad, paved with stone, commonly called the Outward Courte. The lower of which stories contains severall necessary and very usefull rooms, formerly used for severall offices, as the buttry, the wine cellar, three rooms belonging to the lady Holland's servants, six rooms for the house keeper, three rooms for the gentleman ushers and quarter wayter, two rooms for the groom porter, and one room for Mr. Henry Seremin. The higher storie contains three rooms, formerly the lady Denbigh's, groome of the stoole, two rooms for the maids of honour, three rooms for the lady Holland, a dineing room with a drawing roome, and a bed chamber for the lady Carlisle, two roomes for her servants, two roomes for the queen's almner, four rooms for the lord Dorset, lord chamberlain, and two roomes for the house keeper.

MEMORANDUM, that the gatehouse leading into the outward court aforesaid, is a building very stronge and gracefull being three stories high, leaded over head, battled and turretted in every of the four corners thereof, the highest of which stories contains a very large and spacious roome, very pleasant and delectable for prospect.

AND also consisting of one other faire and very curious structure or building of two stories high, the lower story whereof is of good and well wrought free stone, and the higher of wood, richly adorned and set forth and garnished with variety of statues, pictures, and other antick formes of excellent art and workmanship, and of no small cost; all which building lying almost upon a square, is covered with blue slate, and incloseth one faire and large court of one hundred thirty seven foot broad, and one hundred and sixteen foot long, all paved with free stone,
commonly

commonly called the Inner Court: the lower of which stories contains one roome called the Guard Chamber, two roomes for the lady Cary, two roomes for madam nurse, one roome called the Queen's Back Stairs, two roomes for madam Vautlet, the queen's dresser, two roomes for doctor Myerne, two romes for madam Conget, two roomes for the queen's priests, two roomes for the master of the horse, two roomes for the queen's robes, two roomes for madam Cyvet, two roomes for the queen's querries, the queen's privy kitchen, one roome for Mr. Cooke, and one other roome for the queen's wayters, the higher storie conteynes certeine roomes called the Presence Chamber, the Privy Closet, the Privy Chamber, the Privy Gallery, the Queen's Bed Chamber, the Queen's Back Stayers, the King's Bed Chamber, the King's Back Stayers, the Queen's Chapell, and two roomes for the lady marquesse Hambleton.

MEMORANDUM, that all the roomes comprised within the said last mentioned building are very faire and large, many of them being wainscotted round and matted, and adorned with spacious lights both inwards and outwards, guarded with iron barrs and all of them fitt for present use.

MEMORANDUM, Also that the Inward Court aforesaid, stands higher then the said Outward Court by an ascent of eight steps leading therefrom through a Gate house of free stone three stories high, leaded and turreted in the four corners, in the middle of which Gate house stands a clock case turreted and leaded all over, wherein is placed a clock and a bell; this last mentioned Gate house, standing as aforesaid in the middle betwixt the said Outward and Inward Courts, is of most excellent workmanship and a very speciall ornament to Nonsuch house.

MEMORANDUM, Also that the said Inner Courte is battled on the outfides thereof with frames of wood all covered with lead

and supported with strong barrs of iron, also covered with lead and fixed to the master pannes of the building, which battlements are a very great grace and special ornament to the whole building. On the East and West corners of which said Inner Court building, there are placed two large and well built turrets of five stories high, each of them containing five roomes, besides their staircases, the highest of which roomes, together with the lanthorns above the same, are covered with lead and battled round with frames of wood covered with lead; these turrets command the prospect and view of both the parkes of Nonsuch, and of most of the country round about, and are the cheife ornament of the whole house of Nonsuch.

MEMORANDUM, Also that in the second story of the said West turret there is placed a very large cistern of lead, fed and maintained with several pipes of lead conveying water thereinto from a conduit, a good distance from the same standing on the side of a rising ground with Nonsuch little Park; this cistern is of singular use to the whole house, many pipes being branched from thence for the supply of the offices of the whole house, and ought not, as we conceive, to be removed thence.

THAT in the said Inner Court, and neare about the middle thereof, there is placed one faire fountaine of white marble, supported by two brasse dragons, under which is a large square cistern of lead, set within a frame of white marble, unto which cisterne is an ascent of three steps, over against the South side of which fountaine the aforesaid privy gallery doth lie, being a roome waynscotted and matted and very pleasant; in the middle of which is a belcone of very good workmanship placed over against the said fountaine.

AND also consisting of one other structure or free stone building, with two little shedds belonging to the same, standing in a
little

little court called the Kitchen Court, and adjoyning to the East side of the said Outward Court building, containing severall usefull roomes (to witt) one faire and large livery kitchen, a pastery room, a boyling house, a bottle house, a cole house, and seven roomes for officers of the kitchen and pastry.

AND also consisting of certaine other buildings standing and being in the yard, called Woodyard, and commonly called the Gardiner's House, the Rush House, the Privy Buttery, and the Bottle House.

MEMORANDUM, That the frontespeece of Nonfuch house is railed in with strong and handsome rayles and ballasters of free stone, adding much to the beauty of the house; before which and about eight yards distance from the same, is a neate and handsome bouling greene, well ordered, lying muchwhat upon a square and railed with good postes railes and lattices of wood, from whence doth lead a fair and streight path betwixt two faire ranks of trees unto the parke gate, which being very high, well built, and placed in a direct lyne opposite to Nonfuch first gate house, renders it a good ornament thereunto.

AND also consisting of one large garden, commonly called the Privye Garden, lying round and adjoyning unto the three out-sides of the said Inward Court building, compassed round with brick wall of 14 foot high, and cut out and divided into severall allyes, quarters, and rounds, set about with thorne hedges, all which though for the present in a condition of some neglect, yet with a little labour may answere the expectation of a very handsome garden plot, it being a ground large and spacious enough for such a purpose; to the North end whereof adjoynes one kitchen garden, very usefull and commodiously lying to the East side of the said Outward Court building, and compassed round with a wall of brick of 14 foot high, and on the West
side

side of the said privy garden there hath been a wilderness growing and severed with a hedge from the said Little Parke, but the wood of the same wilderness is within three months last past cut down, as we are informed by order of one Mr. Bond, one of the contractors for sale of the late king's goods; but for whose use or how converted wee cannot discover. On the North side of which wilderness there is one orchard or kitchen garden, the contents or number of acres of which said privy garden, kitchen garden, wilderness and orchard, and of the scite of the aforementioned buildings, and of the said courts and yards, wee estimate to amount to ten acres of land, but the contents thereof are comprised within the totall of acres of the said Nonfuch Parke herein hereafter particularly expressed.

MEMORANDUM, that in the said privy garden there is one piramide in spired pinnacle of marble, set upon a basis of marble grounded upon a rise of free stone, near unto which and on the West side of the said West turret, there is placed one large marble wash boule or bason, over which stands a marble pellican, fed with a pipe of lead to convey water into the same. There are also two other marble pinacles or piramides called the Pawlcon perches, betwixt which is placed a fountaine of white marble with a lead cesterne, which fountaine is set round with six trees called lelack trees, which trees beare no fruite but only a very pleasant flower. There are in the said privy garden, one hundred and forty fruit trees, two ewe trees, one juniper tree, six lelack trees, and in the said kitchen garden and old orchard, seventy two fruit trees and one faire time tree, all which materials of the said privy garden and premisses are comprised within the gross values of the materials of Nonfuch house as apperteyning thereunto.

AND also consisting of one structure of timber building of a quadregular forme, pleasantly scituated upon the highest parte

of the said Nonsuch Parke, commonly called the Banquetting House, being compassed round with a brick wall, the four corners whereof represent four half moons or fortified angles; this building being of three stories high, contains three faire cellars, for the first storye one large hall waynscotted, and three other roomes for the second storye, and five roomes for the third storye, most of them all waynscotted and lighted quite round the whole house, the stanchions and out postes of which banquetting house are all covered with lead; over the thirde story there is a lantern placed, covered with lead, and in every of the four corners of the whole house a belcone placed for prospect.

MEMORANDUM, unto this Banquetting house belongs one little building, containing a bakehouse and a roome wherein is placed a faire well with a wheele for winding up of water, and one other little house used for a wath house; both which buildings stand in the said Nonsuch Parke, opposite to the gate leading to the said banquetting house.

AND also consisting of one other pile of timber building tyled over head, near adjoyning to Nonsuch house, on the East side thereof usually belonging to the under house keeper (de bene placito) conteyning a hall, a kitchen, a buttery, a milke house, a parler, a cellar and six roomes above stairs, one little garden, and one little orchard.

AND also consisting of one little timber building, tyled over head, near adjoyning to the said under house keeper's house, commonly called the Saucery House, conteyning foure little roomes used by the yeomen of the fauces.

AND also consisting of one brick building near adjoyning to the said saucery house, commonly called the Well House, within which house is a faire well of a great depth, a large cesterne of lead, and a wheele for winding up the water with two large and strong buckets well bound with iron.

AND

AND also consisting of one other pile of timber building, tyled over head, standing also in the said Parke, a little remote from Nonfuch house, upon the North East, usually called the Stable Buildings, conteyning eight roomes below stayers, two whereof were used for the bakehouse for Nonfuch, and ten roomes above stayers, all of them formerly used as lodgings for groomes of the stable and other inferior officers of the court, and one little garden lying on the back side thereof.

AND also consisting of one fayer and large building, parte wood and parte stone, tyled over head, conteyning a stable for 32 horses to stand abreast, posted into stalls, planked and paved, with two little roomes in the middle thereof for saddles to hang in, unto each end of which long stable adjoyns a several building, the one conteyning a stable for six horses to stand abreast, ordered as aforesaid, and the other conteyning two roomes below, and two above, used for lodgings, and two other roomes formerly a smith's forge.

AND also of one other timber building adjoyning to the said stable buildings, conteyning a stable for eight horses to stand abreast, ordered as aforesaid, and a roome over to lay hay in.

AND also consisting of two barnes standing neare unto the said long stable on each side thereof, one of them conteyning seven bayes of building with a porch and two sheds, and the other of them conteyning five bayes of building, and both of them tyled.

AND also consisting of one other timber building, tyled over head, standing in the said Nonfuch Parke, a pretty distance remote from Nonfuch house, commonly called the Keeper's Lodge, consisting of a hall, a parler, a kitchen, a buttery, a larder, a skullery, a milk house, a bolting house, a dere house, a cole house, and ten chambers or roomes over head, a stable, a little barne of three bayes, a hay house, and a barne of five bayes thatched,

thatched, a garden or orchard very well planted and two little yards.

THE said capitall messuage or mansion house, and all the said other houses and buildings belonging to the same, scituate and being within the said Nonsuch Parke, are generally in very good repayer, and not fit to be demolished or taken down, yet in regard we have made no yearly value of the same, wee have proceeded to a full and perfect view of all the materials thereof, both within and without the same as they stand respectively; and having particularly apprised the same, wee do find that the materials of all the houses and premisses beforementioned are worth, to be sold, above all charges to be allowed for taking down the same, in stone, tymber, lead, slate, tyle, bricks, iron, glasse, wainscott, cesterne, fountains, fruit trees, and other the before mentioned utensils and premisses upon the place, the sum of 7020 £.

ALL that parke or impaied ground commonly called or known by the name of Little Nonsuch Parke, lyeing and being between the parishes of Ewell and Cheame in the county of Surry, bounded with the towne of Ewell upon the West, the common fields there upon the South, the towne of Cheame upon the East, and the Great Parke of Nonsuch upon the North, conteyning in the whole upon admeasurement six hundred three score and eleven acres of land (671 acres); worth in the whole, *per annum*, 402 £. 12 s.

AND all ways, waters, passages, liberties, priviledges, easements, franchises, profits, commodities, advantages, immunities, jurisdictions and appurtenances whatsoever to the said Nonsuch house and parke and premisses belonging or appurteyning, or thereunto used, occupied or accepted, reputed or taken as part, parcell or member thereof or any part thereof.

THERE are in the said Nonsuch Little Parke, one hundred and eight fallow deere, male and female, or neare thereabouts, which at present wee value to be worth 240 £.

THE timber trees and other trees now standing and growing within the said Little Parke of Nonsuch, being in number two thousand four hundred twenty six, over and besides such as are marked out for the use of the navie, being for the most part ould decayed pollards, or very young spring wood, good for little save the fire, are worth upon the place above all charges for converting them into money, the sum of 3 s. 5 d. per hundred, and 13 s. 4 d. over, at all one tree with another in toto, 407 £. 10 s.

THERE are also growing in divers places of the said Parke, divers bushes of thorne and other underwood, which wee value to be worth upon the place, above all charges, the sum of 50 £.

MEMORANDUM, that the said Nonsuch house, parke, and premisses are tythe free as haveyng never been charged therewith.

THE trees within the Parke aforesaid, already marked forth for the use of the navie, are found to be in number two thousand eight hundred and five, two hundred whereof growe so neare unto Nonsuch house, and in such a decent order, being a speciall ornament thereunto, that the cutting down thereof will not only very much impayre the magnificence of the structure, but will also exceedingly detract from the pleasantness of the seate which we humbly make bould to certifie.

WE have not made any reprise for the fencing or keeping up of the pales of the said parke, in regard we have valued the same as it may be improved, and not in relation as to have it maintained for deere.

Totall

A Survey of Nonfuch House and Park, cum pertinentiis. 439

	Acres.	£.	s.
Total of the acres and annuall value	- 671	402	12
	£.	s.	
Total of grosse values of materials	- 7020	0	
Total of the trees and woods	- 457	10	
Deere	- 240	0	

Examined per WILL. WEBB,
Supervisor General, 1650.

HEN. HENDLY,
JOHN INWOOD,
JOHN WALE,
JOHN WEBB.

XLIV. Supplement to Number XXV, Page 439.
THIS elegant bird crown, which is of the late Elizabethan
in the above plate, was found in the year 1771, on the ruins of
on now paving the Tower in the year 1771, on the ruins of
the White Tower leading from Colindale to the ruins of
It seems by the size to have been intended to be placed
head of a small statue of the Virgin Mary, or some other
image which had been placed in an oratory or private chapel.
It is of the finest gold, and its form is that of the open crown
which appears in the coins and paintings of our forefathers
monarchs before the reign of Henry VII. (who gave the
close crown and came into use, having four fluted
placed on the sides; one of which is broken off, and
are of three small pieces with an enamel in the center, and
the other two placed eight small beads, four on each side, and
four on each side, under the enamel and as the last, and
small beads and enamel.

XLIV. Sup-



XLIV. *Supplement to Number XXX, Page 291.*

THIS elegant little crown, which is of the size represented in the above plate, was found at the depth of four feet on new paving the Tower in the year 1772, on the East side of the White Tower leading from Coldharbour to the grand storehouse. It seems by the size to have been intended to adorn the head of a small statue of the Virgin Mary, or some other saint, which had been placed in an oratory or private chapel. It is of the finest gold, and its form is that of the open crown fleuri, which appears in the coins and paintings of our English monarchs before the reign of Henry VII, (when the arched or close crown first came into use,) having four strawberry leaves placed on the fillet; one of which is broken off. In each leaf are set three small pearls with an emerald in the center: round the fillet are placed eight small pearls, four rough rubies, and four emeralds; a ruby under the center of each leaf, and an emerald under each intermediate point.

JER. MILLES, P. S. A.

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ERRATA.

Page 188 note read Pl. XIV.

240 line 6 read paced.

329 line 10 read Lyconicum

373 line 12 read Eadburga

271 line 14 read partida

07 line 27 read prove

311 line 21 read accede,

Page 108, Line 30, read lynid, scant

112, Line 21, read magical

116, Line 1, read Arderon

